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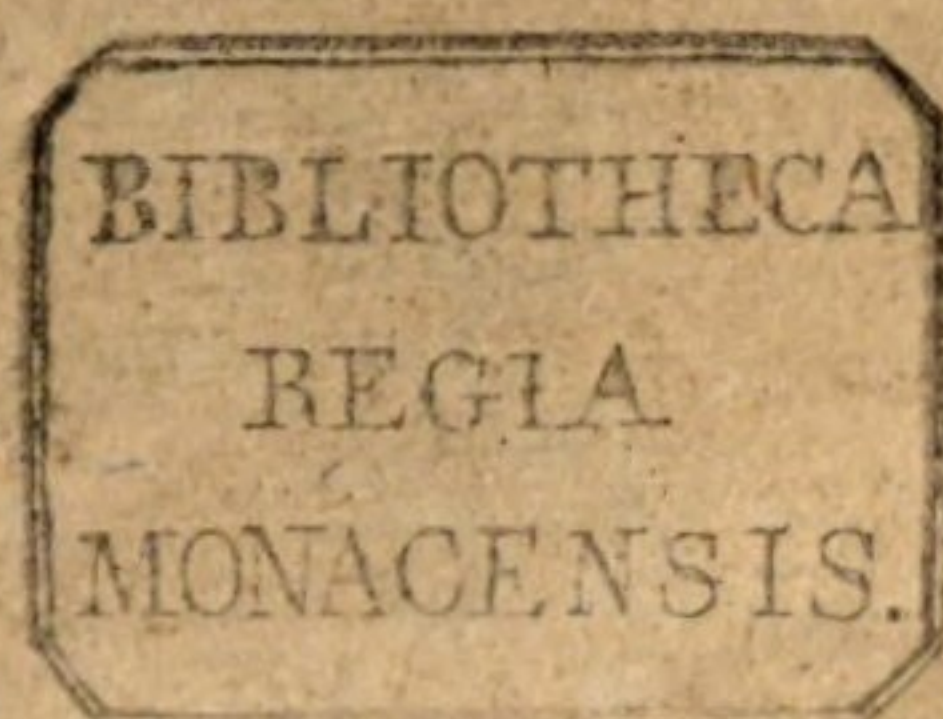
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Engraved for the Tyburn Chronicle.



A Man whipped at the Cart's Tail for petit Larceny from Charing Cross to the Horse Guards.

T H E

Tyburn Chronicle.

The Trials of NATHANIEL JACKSON and JOHN MURPHEY for a Robbery, with a particular Account of JACKSON, who was executed for the same.

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the month of July, 1722, *Nathaniel Jackson* and *John Murphey* were indicted for assaulting *Richard Dennit* on the highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him two shirts, value 10 s. a coat and waistcoat value 23 s. five ounces of human hair value 10 s. six lemons, a handkerchief, and 13d. in money on the 20th of June preceeding.

The prosecutor deposed, that as he was walking between Tottenham Court and Hampstead, with a basket of lemons on his head, about eleven o'clock at night, a man, whose name he afterwards learnt was *Neal O'Brian*, came out of the grass, and asked him whither he was going: he replied to Hampstead, and *O'Brian* saying he would go with him, the prosecutor bid him come along, on which *O'Brian* said,

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"G—d d—n ye, speak another word, and I'll shoot ye through the head this minute;" and giving him a blow on the breast, cried "Hip," immediately on which the two prisoners came up, took him by the shoulders, and dragged him into a ditch, where they stripped off his coat, waistcoat and shirt, bound him, and swore they would kill him.

He farther deposed, that he had a handkerchief and five ounces of human hair in his pocket; and that finding by their brogue that two of them were Irishmen, he, in order to induce them to use him the better, told them that he was born of Irish parents, that his father was born in the High-street in Dublin, and that himself was born in Hampshire; on which O'Brian said, "By my shoul now tis man "is a very good Hampshire Hog to kill," to which the prosecutor answered, "but indifferent."

Being asked by the court if he lost any money; he said yes, thirteen pence, but that he saved a guinea, which he had put into one of his shoes for security: that they took six lemons out of his basket, and ate some of them, and then went away with his cloaths and left him bound: that with much struggling he got loose, and meeting with Edward Howard, a friend of his, they followed the prisoners to a night-house in the Haymarket, where they took them, with some of his cloaths in their possession; but that O'Brian made his escape.

The prisoners told the court that they would give no farther trouble, and owned that they committed the robbery; upon which the jury found them guilty, and they received sentence of death; but Murphey afterwards obtained a reprieve.

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The following Account of Nathaniel Jackson was written by himself.

I Am now above thirty years age: I was born at Doncaster in Yorkshire, where my parents lived in credit; my Father, I believe, would have given me a very good education, had he lived much longer; but he died while I was very young, and before I had made any considerable progress in my learning. However, he left me with a small fortune to the care of a friend, with whom I lived till I was old enough to be put out apprentice; and then he bound me to a Silk-Weaver in Norwich. My master and I were often at variance; he was an honest, industrious man, and my delight was in idleness, extravagance, and keeping loose company. He was very uneasy, at the liberties I took: and I was no less so, at the restraints he endeavoured to lay me under. Thus disagreeing, we lived for about three years, and then I run away from him.

My guardian, after a diligent enquiry, heard where I was, and sent me word, that, since I had no inclination to trade, my friends would advise me to purchase a small place with the money my father had left me. But their advice was thrown away, for a settlement was not what I wanted; I thought a loose rambling life was much preferable, and therefore entered myself into the army, and was sent to Ireland, where I came behind-hand with none of my fellow-soldiers, in lewdness and debauchery of every kind.

Growing weary of the mean condition of a common soldier, I procured twenty guineas of some of my friends, with fifteen of which I gained admittance into a troop of dragoons, but did not hold it long; for, quarrelling with one of my comrades, a duel succeeded, in which I did not kill him indeed, but

I hacked and mangled him in a barbarous manner; and, for this my officer cashiered me, though I believe in so doing he had more regard to his own profit, than to my offence.

I continued about four years in Ireland; it was there I begun my acquaintance with John Murphey and Neal O'Brian, and there, after I was broke I left them, and returned to my guardian. I lived for a while in the same town with him, but not in his house; because I could not persuade myself to that regular and sober life which he required; but chose to forsake my home for several nights in a week, to keep company with sots at an ale-house, or whores at a bawdy-house.

In vain my friends tried to prevail with me to reform my life; I sometimes heard, but never regarded their remonstrances, and at last resolved even to hear no more. In this mind I got what money I could from them, and came to London.

I now imagined myself happy, in being delivered from the irksome reproofs of those, who I thought were too officiously solicitous for my Welfare. But it was not long before I found my mistake; for, by living idly, and humouring a vicious disposition, I was brought to so low a degree of poverty, that I wanted bread.

In this miserable state, unknowing what to do for a maintenance, I took a ramble one afternoon to Hyde-Park, and there accidentally met with my old acquaintance John Murphey, whose circumstances were little better than my own. We had not walked far together, before we were overtaken by Neal O'Brian, who was dressed in a livery. After the common salutations, he invited us to drink at a Suttler's tent in the camp. We gladly accepted the offer and went with him; we staid there two or three hours, and drank very heartily, and then he called
for

for the reckoning and discharged it; shewing us at the same time a pretty deal of money.

As soon as we came out of the tent, he said, “ You see, my bloods, how I live: I never want money, and if you have but hearts, and dare walk with me towards Hampstead to-night, I’ll shew you how easy it is to get it.” Neither I nor Murphey wanted many arguments to bring us to a compliance; for our corrupted morals, attended with poverty, had but too well prepared us to fall in with any proposal; so that we soon agreed.

Between Pancras and Hampstead we met Mr. Denit, and robbed him of his coat and waistcoat, a parcel of hair, two shirts, and 13 d. O’Brian would have cut his throat to prevent a discovery, but neither I nor Murphey would consent to it. This was a poor booty, and far short of what O’Brian had given us expectation of; but I must lose my life for it, tho’ not undeservedly.

To this account let us add that of the Ordinary, viz. “ That Jackson appeared extreamly grieved, and very penitent, for the many offences of his life, and expressed a sensible concern for the disgrace his death would bring upon his family, and for the affliction it was to his good and religious friends; adding, that a letter sent to him from his brother when he left London, having found his endeavours to save him were in vain, and which letter he read to me, had more cut his heart, if possible, than a thousand deaths.

“ He assured me, that as I directed him, he spent all his time below in prayer to God, and in reading to the other malefactors.—That he made use of certain written forms, proper for men in his condition; and frequently called upon the rest, to join with him in those prayers.

“ He said, he earnestly desired to receive the Holy Sacrament, which he did, with much devotion, and
“ seemed

“seemed perfectly resigned to leave this world, and
“desirous to enter into a far better.”

He was hanged at Tyburn, on Wednesday, July
18, 1722.

*The Trial of MATTHIAS BRINSDEN, who was
convicted of Murder, with several Particulars
relating to him.*

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the
month of September 1722, *Matthias Brinsden*,
of St. Ann, Blackfriars, was indicted for the murder
of Hannah his wife, by giving her with a knife one
mortal wound under the left pap, of the length of
one inch, and the depth of six inches, on the 16th
of July 1722, of which wound she instantly died.

He was a second time indicted on the Coroner's
Inquisition for the said murder.

The first witness called was the prisoner's daughter
Hannah Brinsden, who deposed, that about nine
o'clock at night, as her mother was sitting on the bed
and suckling a young child, she asked the prisoner
what she should have for supper; to which he an-
swered, “Bread and cheese—can't you eat that as
“well as the children?”—The wife replied, “No,
“I want a bit of meat.”—“But,” cried the prisoner,
“I have no money to buy you any.” To this the
deceased said, “You know I have had but little
“to-day,” and the prisoner replied, “Damn you for
“a bitch, I'll stick you the next word you speak;”
and the deceased again asking for some meat, he
pushed her back on the bed with his left hand, and
stabbed her under the breast with a knife that he had
in

in his right hand. The blood running apace from the wound, this deponent snatched the child from the mother's breast, and the elder sister cried out, " Oh ! " Lord ! Father, you have killed my mother ; " to which he replied, " Damn ye, hold your tongues, ye " bitches, or I'll stick ye too : "—then putting the bloody knife in his mouth, he sent this deponent for some sugar and basilicon, which he applied to the wound, and then went away ; and in about half an hour his wife died.

James Welch, a constable, deposed, that being called out of bed, and told of this murder, he went to the prisoner's house, and saw the deceased lying dead on the floor * : that the prisoner was gone ; but by means of a letter sent to Mrs. Horn, he was found in bed at a barber's at Shadwell-Dock, and being carried before Sir Francis Forbes, he there confessed, that, " coming home in the evening, he found two or " three persons drinking with his wife ; that they left " her at nine o'clock, and words then arising betwixt " him and her about something for supper, she strove " to go out, and he endeavoured to hinder her ; and " in struggling she fell upon a knife which he had in " his hand."

A Surgeon deposed, that he was sent for to the deceased, who had a large wound under the left side of her breast : that he passed his finger through the ribs, and found the wound to be mortal : that he perceived neither motion nor pulse, and she died in a minute afterwards ; and that he believed the wound was six inches deep.

To this the prisoner replied, " that could never " be, for the knife is not six inches long."

Mrs. Horn deposed, that some time before the murder the prisoner burnt his wife's arm with a hot

* This Witness produced her bloody gown, and a bloody knife which was found in the room where she was murdered.

iron; and the Monday before her death, he cut her in the head with a pair of scissars: that the day after he had killed her he sent a letter to this deponent, inclosing a letter to his eldest daughter. These letters being produced, were read, and are as follow :

*For Mrs. Horn, at Mr. Seymour's, a Sawyer, in
Bridewell Precinct.*

*My Count **,

July 17, 1722.

I Defire to see you, with Betty, to-morrow morning ; for I can intrust none but you and Betty where I am. I have sent her a Letter inclosed in yours, but no direction where but to you.—You may hear of me at Mr. King's, a Barber, at Shadwell-dock.—As soon as you receive this, send the letter to her pray ; and she and you come together by water.

The inclosed letter was directed

For Eliz. King.

Betty,

July 17, 1722.

TAKE the blue coat from Norris's, and borrow six shillings on it at Salisbury-court, and pay Norris, and bring the rest to me to-morrow morning ; for I have not bread to eat, and I ene long to see you. Mrs. Horn will tell you where I am. Bring my hat with you, and a clean shirt. Come down by water. Mind nobody dodges you.

Mary Wright, mother to the deceased, deposed, that for twelve years past she had expected that the prisoner would kill his wife some time or other, for

* This is a nick-name by which the prisoner used to call Mrs. Horn.

he was frequently beating and abusing her: that one time he burnt her arms with a red hot poker; and a week before her death he stabbed her in the skull with a pair of scissars, so that she was all over blood; and thinking he had killed her, he ran away, and staid till he heard she was likely to get over it, and then he came home again.

Mrs. Gafely deposed, that the prisoner often beat and abused his wife, and one time turned her out of doors with nothing but her shift and shoes on.

Mrs. Goodwin deposed, that the prisoner's eldest daughter, Betty, came to her and said, "My father has murdered my mother;" to which this deponent said, "And why did you not call me?" the daughter replied, "Why, when he had done it, he put the bloody knife in his mouth, and swore at me and my sister, God damn us, he would stick us both if we did not hold our tongues. But at last I got the knife from him, and threw it behind the bed."— This evidence deposed farther, that this daughter was sent out of the way, that she might not be an evidence against him.

The prisoner made his defence in the following words:

"About seven at night I came home, and found Mrs. Chapman and another woman with my wife. They were very merry; and while they staid, I sent for a half-peck loaf, a pound of cheese, and some onions. They went away about nine, and then my wife said, What! must I have no victuals but bread and cheese for supper, as well as for breakfast and dinner? Why my girl, says I, can't you eat the same as I and the children eat? No, says she, I want a bit of meat, for I have had none to-day. Child, says I, be satisfied to-night, and we will have some meat to-morrow. No, said she, I wont stay till to-morrow, I'll have some now; and if I can't have it at home, I'll go out and get it. Being

“ willing to avoid a noise, I cuts off a heel of the
 “ loaf, and a piece of cheese, and puts in my pocket,
 “ intending to go to the ale-house, that I might eat
 “ my supper in peace. Then I was going to cut
 “ some for the children; but my wife being *half*
 “ *speed*, and wanting to go to her companions, at the
 “ gin shop, she endeavoured to slip behind me;
 “ which I observing, I turned about with the knife
 “ in my hand, in order to prevent her: and she, in
 “ struggling to get out, thrust herself against it,
 “ before I was aware.”

The Jury found him guilty, in consequence of which he received sentence of death.

There having been published two accounts of this criminal's life, which disagree with each other in some particulars, we shall make extracts of all that is material in each, that the Reader may the better compare them, and judge which deserves the most credit.

The first was published by T. Purney, the Ordinary of Newgate; and the other by R. Mawson, a partner with Mr. Mist, in printing the Weekly Journal.

I. *The Ordinary of Newgate's Account of ———*
Matthias Brinsden.

“ This account [the Ordinary says in the Title
 “ Page] was omitted in the common account of the
 “ Dying Speech, for want of room, and the large-
 “ ness of this account.”

But, however, he did not quite forget Brinsden in his common account; for, says he,——“ Benjamin
 “ Shambler [one of the condemned prisoners]——
 “ told me, that he often excited Matthias Brinsden to
 “ join with him in prayers and psalms that he set;
 “ Brinsden, being at first continually in bed, and re-
 “ garding little but eating and dozing, complaining of
 “ the hardness of his case, to be condemned to die,
 “ for

“ for accidentally killing (as he said) a woman, his
 “ wife ; and scorning, (as seemed to others) to speak
 “ or pray with robbers and plunderers.”

Let us now proceed with the Chaplain's other account.

“ This malefactor (Brinsden) being a considera-
 “ ble time under confinement, before his trial ; and
 “ the clamours of the town being strong and violent
 “ against him ; I was desired by a great number of
 “ people to take a *peculiar* regard of *his* soul * ; his
 “ death being as certain as his imprisonment.

“ Accordingly I sent for him to the chapel, ob-
 “ serving he absented himself ; but he made an ex-
 “ cuse not to be there. Upon my repeating [repeat-
 “ ing what ?] and sending to him, the messenger told
 “ me, and [also] said, he was brought up according
 “ to the way of the Roman Catholicks, and had no-
 “ thing to do with our chapels, parsons, or prayers.
 “ But this, I believe, was only to prevent his being
 “ forced to the chapel, that he might indulge him-
 “ self in sloth and idleness : though, afterwards, he
 “ denied that ever he declared himself a Roman Ca-
 “ tholic, or so much as ever spoke to the messenger
 “ I sent.

“ However, during the whole time that he lay be-
 “ fore condemnation, he never once appeared at
 “ prayers. When he was upon his trial, it was
 “ thought remarkable, and a token of savageness and

* This must not be taken in a literal sense ; for that would be to suppose, that Brinsden's soul was of more value, and deserved more regard than the souls of other condemned criminals, who were less wicked : and this because he had been long under confinement, and the town clamoured against him :—No, the expression of a peculiar regard to his soul is figurative, and means no more, than that the chaplain should exert his utmost endeavours, to persuade this felon, in particular, to give a full and true account of his life, and to make a dying speech at the place of execution.

“ barbarity of nature, that, instead of throwing him-
 “ self upon the mercy of the court; instead of de-
 “ firing death, rather than life, with remorse of con-
 “ science; instead of bursting into tears for the loss
 “ of the partner of his bed, his joys and griefs; he
 “ insisted on trifling allegations; said his wife loved
 “ brandy and geneva; disobeyed his commands;
 “ and would not be easy to live as he lived: mak-
 “ ing a remark, that the surgeon must swear false-
 “ ly, in asserting, that the wound was six inches deep,
 “ when the knife produced in court was not six inches
 “ long. †

“ After his condemnation, he being at chapel, I
 “ examined him, and taxed him with having so lit-
 “ tle regard for his soul, which must so assuredly
 “ make its appearance in another world, in so short
 “ a time. He answered, That he trembled at the
 “ thoughts of an avenging God; but, not the more
 “ for having ended his wife’s days, which was ac-
 “ cidental. At the same time he took hold of my
 “ two shoulders, turned me round, twisting his body
 “ in a very strange manner, in order to explain fully
 “ to me, the way in which he performed the mur-
 “ der: his wife, he said, being pushing violently by
 “ him, that she might force her way to the brandy-
 “ shop, near her house, where, he said, she con-
 “ tinually went.

“ During the sermon,——Matthias behaved him-
 “ self no way indecently; yet appeared somewhat
 “ serene and composed, as if he was no ways ashamed.

† The surgeon did not swear positively that the wound was
 six inches deep; but only, that he believed so. It seems the
 Chaplain did not think this sufficient to obviate Brinsden’s ob-
 jection; and therefore, to put the matter quite out of dispute,
 when he tells us (from the sessions-paper) what the prisoner was
 indicted for, he adds to the text, That the knife was seven
 inches in length ——What a laudable expedient is this, for clear-
 ing up a difficulty? and how worthy of its Reverend Author?

“ ed before man (of) what he had performed, or
 “ afraid before God. He complained of the prodi-
 “ gious croud of spectators in the chapel, who were
 “ mostly there, he feared, to make remarks, and
 “ triumph at his misfortunes and calamities.

“ Soon after this, I took him to discourse with into
 “ a private closet, where I asked him, How he could
 “ bathe his hands in the blood of his wife, who was
 “ his own flesh? and we are told no man ever yet
 “ hated his own flesh? What induced him to
 “ pierce that breast, that had thought so kindly of
 “ him, as to wed him? how he could wish to see
 “ that face pale in death, which he had ever de-
 “ lighted in? to this he answered, that he was as
 “ innocent of guilt, as the child unborn. That his
 “ wife was jovial and gay, with four or five women
 “ at his house that evening when he went home,
 “ was free and merry with them for a considerable
 “ time: they going away, he took up a narrow
 “ sharp knife (which he used in his business) in or-
 “ der to cut some cheese; his wife enquiring, if she
 “ must feed on cheese and bread at noon, and also
 “ at night? he asked her, if she was so nice, that
 “ she could not digest what he and the children did?
 “ Whereupon she answered in anger, She would not.
 “ That he intended then to give his eldest daughter
 “ a pye, as he sometimes befriended her a little in
 “ her diet, because she was, he said, a good girl,
 “ took care of his children, when his wife was at the
 “ Geneva-shop, and did a great deal of business, and,
 “ he thought, well deserved much more than was in
 “ his power to bestow upon her.

“ He added, that these things exciting his wife in
 “ some measure to anger, she thrust by him to get
 “ through the door; he resolving she should not go
 “ abroad, but stay at home at night, as became a
 “ good wife. In preventing her going out (having
 “ the

the knife and bread in his hand) the knife unhappily she thrust into her own side. *We* asked, how then the wound could be so deep? he answered, through her resolved temper to go to the Geneva Shop, that nothing but death could stop her; denying that he did it through passion, or was so much as angry with her. Being asked then, how he came to burn her arms with a red hot poker some years ago? he said, she was of such an odd temper, that nothing but beating would do with her, and she was commonly good for a week after; but if he let her alone a fortnight, she would consume all, and turn the house up-side down; which was the reason, that it was just a week before this scuffle, as he intended it, that proved her death, and the fray the Monday before, when the sheers were run into her scull, and she was covered with blood, so that he run away till he heard she was not dead.

He said further, that though his daughter swore he threw his wife down on the bed with one hand, and stabbed her with the other; he laid her gently on the bed, to preserve her from death, and to save the infant that was sucking at her breast. He added, that he would that moment have given a thousand worlds for her life, and sent for basilicon and sugar, to retain that life awhile, which he could not re-call; in order to have her declare, *That there was no malice between them, and she could not believe he designed her death.*

He also said, that when he was escaped to Mr. King's at Shadwell-dock, he felt that inward uneasiness in his mind, that he wished he might be taken up, and, though he was then in bed, the apprehensions of his mind would not let him sleep, but he fancied he heard the constable approaching to seize him every moment, even while he was safe on his pillow.

“ After

“ After this he kept constantly to prayers, except
 “ a day or two that he was sick of three maladies
 “ (he said) at once. But, when his daughter, who
 “ was an evidence against him, appeared in the
 “ chapel to beg he would forgive her, he turned
 “ away and would not see her, when the girl kneeled
 “ down before him, with her hands lifted up, and
 “ in tears begged him to forgive her; and there were
 “ near twenty other people (some of them kneeling
 “ to him) begged with tears, he would pardon his
 “ daughter, &c. He was about half an hour before
 “ he could be induced to kiss her, as she begged most
 “ earnestly he would; though two clergymen, and
 “ others, represented to him, that she was but a
 “ child of sixteen, could mean him no harm, and
 “ had only done what justice the law obliged her to
 “ perform,

“ At last, when he seemed really to be in charity
 “ with her, he said, (crying very lamentably) For
 “ Christ’s sake, my child, God forgive me, I have
 “ robbed you of your own mother; be a good child,
 “ and rather die than steal: never be in a passion,
 “ but curb your anger, and honour your mistress,
 “ she’ll be both a father and mother to you. Fare-
 “ wel, my dear child, pray for your father, and think
 “ of him as well as you can.

“ During this, the sad sorrow of the daughter was
 “ encreased by the sight of the father, wasted away
 “ to a skeleton, from a sanguine, florid complexion;
 “ which was not occasioned, he said, so much by any
 “ sickness he sustained, as by the inward vexation of
 “ his mind, which prevented his receiving any nou-
 “ rishment from his food.

“ The morning before he died, he said, death was
 “ very acceptable to him; but he hoped he should
 “ not be refused the sacrament, but allowed to re-
 “ ceive it in some place freer from noise and tumult,
 “ than the chapel used to be; which was adminis-
 “ tered

“tered to him on Monday morning, agreeable to
“his request.

“Before he went to the sacrament, he took his
“last farewell of all his children, with an incredible
“number of tears from him and them. As the sa-
“crament was given, he passionately called on Christ,
“cried vehemently, wrung his hands, &c. After he
“had received it, he grew calm, and so continued
“till his death.

“Being taken out of the cart, and placed under
“Tyburn, while some others were adjusting the
“ropes about their necks, or taking leave of their
“friends, or throwing books or handkerchiefs to them
“in the crowd, Mr. Brinsden regarded none, but
“stood as wholly wrapped in thought, without any
“surprize or consternation. But, afterwards, the
“prayers being begun, he was earnest and attentive.
“Then, desiring silence among the people, he desired
“I would speak aloud, what was directed to me by
“him, his voice being too weak to reach the people
“around; it was as follows:

I Was born of kind parents, who gave me learning;
I went apprentice to a fine-drawer. I had often
jars, which might increase a natural waspishness in
my temper. I fell in love with Hannah, my last
wife, and after much difficulty won her, she having
five suitors courting her at the same time. We had
ten children (half of them dead) and I believe we
loved each other dearly; but often quarrelled and
fought. Pray, good people, mind, I had no malice
against her, nor thought to kill her two minutes be-
fore the deed; but I designed only to make her
obey me thoroughly, which the scripture says, all
wives should do. This I thought I had done, when
I cut her scull on Monday, but she was the same
again by Tuesday.

Good

Good people, I request you to observe, that the world has spitefully given out, that I carnally and incestuously lay with my eldest daughter. I here solemnly declare, as I am entering into the presence of God, I never knew whether she was man or woman since she was a babe. I have often taken her in my arms, often kissed her, sometimes given her a cake or a pye, when she did any particular service, beyond what came to her share; but never lay with her, or carnally knew her, much less had a child by her. But when a man is in calamities, and is hated like me, the women will make surmises be certainties. Good christians, pray for me! I deserve Death; I am willing to die; for, though my sins are great, God's mercies are greater.

He was hanged at Tyburn, on Monday, the 24th of September 1722.

II. *The case of Matthias Brinsden, by R. Mawson, abridged.*

At the assizes at Oxford, one Spicer Bromley was convicted for the murder of his father; at Lincoln a woman, for the murder of her husband; and a girl for the murder of her grand-mother; at London, Ann Morris, for the murder of her bastard child, and this Mr. Brinsden, for the murder of his wife.

But, as the others were designedly committed, this latter was committed in the heat of an excessive passion, he had a considerable time suffered too much to grow upon him*.

* This distinction, between passion and design, insinuates that Brinsden had no design to kill his wife, though he stabbed her as she sat on the bed, without any provocation, except it was a provocation to ask for a bit of meat. This his own daughter swore: and there is not the least appearance of her being preju-

He was about forty-five years of age, brought up by his father, who was a cloth-drawer in Holborn, to his own business. He was covenanted first to Mr. Beech, a cloth-drawer in Ireland-yard, in Black-fryars; and afterwards to Mr. Byfield, who succeeded Mr. Beech in the same employment. Byfield died about twenty-five years ago, and left the whole business to young Brinsden, who soon after married the deceased's widow, who was a reputable, sober woman, and every way qualified to make a tradesman a good wife. She had been some time servant in the same parish, to a Taylor, for whom Mr. Brinsden did a great deal of work.

At the time of her marriage, her mother (who was a waterman's widow) having other children, prevailed with Mr. Brinsden to take one of them apprentice.—His name was Henry Wright.

Brinsden being settled in the world, he had for some time business enough for himself, his wife, and an apprentice or two; and, as his children grew up, he taught two of his daughters his business. But, being seized with a violent fever, which brought such a distraction upon him, that he was forced to be tied in his bed for several months, he was reduced to very low circumstances in the world; for his family was so large, and himself so long before he recovered strength sufficient to manage his business, that even when he could do it, the debts contracted in his sickness would not suffer him, for a considerable time, to shew his head. And besides, other people had displaced him of a considerable part of his business,

diced against her father. Besides, if there is any meaning in saying, "He killed her in an excessive passion, he had long suffered to grow upon him." the words imply, not so much a sudden anger as a premeditated malice, which daily increased, till, arriving to the highest pitch, it produceth this butcherly action. He himself pretended, that he was not in any passion at all, but killed her accidentally.

which

which chiefly lay among merchants and taylors: the former, by reason of his poverty, not caring to trust such quantities of cloth as usual; and the latter, by knowing his necessity, brought him down to such low prices, that he never after recovered himself.

As he had a numerous family, he was very willing to turn his hand to any thing for the support of it. He tried several ways, and once in particular he came to me when I lived in Black-Fryars (afterwards next door but one to him) and desired I would let him carry out some journals for me, which I then printed, complaining, that the decay of his trade since his sickness had put him so behind-hand in the world, that he would willingly do any thing in an honest way for a maintenance. As he was a neighbour whom I had some knowledge of, and as I had several customers who had subscribed for my paper, from the first of its coming out, I gave him 6s. for serving some of them, which he would do early in the morning, and afterwards do as good a day's work at his own business, even if it was abroad, as if he had done nothing before. For as he served them mostly to my acquaintance, there was no more for him to do, than only just deliver them, and go about his business, without crying them as the Hawkers do. And this, to the best of my remembrance, he followed as long as the government would let me print it without trouble, which is now almost seven years ago, and then I left that neighbourhood.

The merchants not bringing their business to his house, for the reason above, he would go and do it at their warehouses, or other places where they pleased to appoint him. But here was the difference between working at home and going abroad. At home they were not judges of the time it took him up; but when they came to have it done at their own houses, they brought him to so much a day, and so paid

him as a journeyman. And this business abroad held but for some months in the year; and what he had at home being but trifling, he was often out of work, and so fell into such company, that he seldom brought much to his wife; and sometimes would force from her a great part of what she got for jots in his absence, in order to support his own expences, notwithstanding her entreaties, and the necessities of his family.

I had but little knowledge of him after I left that neighbourhood, till about a year ago, when he came to me, and desired I would put him in a way to contradict a report spread by some of the Newspapers, "That his eldest daughter was with child by him." I gave him directions, by which he had it contradicted accordingly. And a Taylor's wife, who had occasioned it, begged his pardon in most of the houses of call for Taylors in Black-Fryars, as a part of his livelihood depended upon that business. The report being pretty well, though not entirely silenced, I afterwards informed him of a neighbour of his, who told me, she had seen an indecent familiarity betwixt him and his daughter; but though, had he sued her for the scandal, I could have positively sworn it; yet she denied it with all the impudence imaginable; from whence I had the charity to believe him innocent, and 'tis very likely, that the whole story was raised by that woman's telling the same to others as to me. However, upon this occasion he sent for his daughter home, that it might not be said, she was gone abroad to lye-in, though he had hands enough to do his own business, and she had just agreed with another Cloth-drawer for 8l. a year, and her diet; she being accounted (though a woman) as good a hand as most in the whole business; for she was able to earn 15 or 16s. a week, for several months in the year.

The

The murder of his wife revived the story of him and his daughter; and, as stories seldom lose by carrying, by the time he came to his trial, it was reported he had two or three children by her, and that she was then big with another, for which, it was said, she ought to be torn to pieces, and the Lord knows what besides; and all from the heedless tattling of a drunken woman, who has since confessed, that she never saw any thing between the father and daughter, that might give the least occasion for what she had reported.

A few months before the murder, this daughter (who being a daughter of a freeman, had a right to work in the city) lost her privilege, by marrying a man who was not a freeman, and who, 'tis reported, has another wife and children; or at least a woman and two or three children, who laid claim to him. And this privilege she cannot recover, except she who pretends a prior marriage, can, and will prove it, in order to prove the second marriage unlawful.

Another help to reviving this report of their incest was, that a clergyman, the reader of the parish, had said in public, "That he knew a man, who could prove the daughter had been delivered of a child, that she had by her father." Had this been true, I can't comprehend what occasion they had to bring a man into the secret. But suppose her case might require the help of a man midwife, here must certainly be a murder concealed *, and the person, thus let into the secret, must be one of a very slender reputation, for not divulging it sooner.

This story occasioned my waiting upon that clergyman, who not only assured me that it was very false, but visited Mr. Brinsden last Friday morning; and afterwards expressed himself, in favour of the cri-

* This is not a necessary consequence, for the child might be living.

minal, to this purpose, " That he was very sorry the
 " world should raise such a malicious report of him;
 " and, that he left him a true penitent."

This was some time after the daughter (who was the evidence against him at his trial) had earnestly desired to see him, to ask his pardon for what she had sworn against him; and to desire him to be reconciled to her before he died; but, attempting that reconciliation in the chapel, he refused it then, but was brought into better temper next day.

This reverend gentleman, and another, visited him afterwards, by reason the Ordinary prest him so much to own the incest with his daughter, that, as the prisoner and others, his fellow sufferers expressed it, " The Chaplain urged the confession of sins
 " they were never guilty of, to such a degree, as put
 " them out of temper, and hindered them from that
 " great work which they had but so small a time to
 " perform." As for Mr. Brinsden, of the ten weeks from the time of his commitment, to that of his execution, he was ill of the prison distemper above seven weeks at times, to a degree that often bereaved him of his senses.

When he lay under sentence, his children petitioned the princess, " That she would graciously be
 " pleased to interceed for mercy for him; for
 " that he had formerly been tied down in his bed
 " nine months together; and that the murder was
 " rather the effect of madness than any design." However, it is supposed, that this latter part of it might be intended only to make his case look the better; but, as it happened to have no effect, I shall say no more of it.

In his way to Tyburn, the daughter, who had been evidence against him, was put up to him in the cart at Holborn-Bridge, to take her last farewell; where, after kissing her several times, he repeated, " That he forgave her and all the world.

At the place of execution he delivered a Thomas-a-Kempis to a friend, and behaved himself the most sedately of all the prisoners.

*To the Reverend Mr. Purney, Ordinary and Chaplain
of Newgate.*

Reverend Sir,

AS to the speech you have told the people Mr. Brinsden told you, I must beg leave to tell you, that he was never apprenticed, but learned his trade of his father. That he had eleven children by his wife, and has six children now living; which is one more born, and one more alive than what you have mentioned. That a man should forget how many children he had alive seems to give no small discredit to the rest of the account.

As to your messenger, you sent for him to come to chapel; had you visited him yourself, instead of hearing he was Roman Catholic, you had found him in a very weak condition, unable to come up to chapel; that his friends were obliged to get other ministers to come and give him instructions, which his not being able to come to chapel deprived him of.

I desire you would excuse my not crediting what you have said of him, in relation to his wife, viz. that he said she was of such an odd temper, that nothing but beating would do with her; and she was commonly good for a week after; but, if he let her alone for a fortnight, she would consume all, and turn the house almost upside down.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

Sept. 29, 1722.

R. M.

Account

*Account of the Trial of MARGARET WRIGHT,
for privately stealing.*

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the month of September, 1722, *Margaret Wright*, of St. Giles's in the Fields, was indicted for privately stealing two half guineas, from the person of John Tyfiere, on the 8th of September, 1722.

The prosecutor, who was a Frenchman, gave his evidence in the following words :

In de Newport street, near de Seven Dial, I meet vid the prisoner, and say to her, "How you do Shile!" "O! mine dear," she say, "I be very mush glad to see you: Vat vill you treat me now?" "Dat I vill," I say, "vid all mine art; but you no go vid me, I vill go before, to de Tree-Tun Tavern, and you shall come dare, and ask a for me." "Vell den," she say, "I vill come." But I no tink dat she vould; so I go to de Tree-Tun, and call for aon pint of de vine, and some tobac; and vile I vas a smoaking mine pipe, in come Mettres Peggy. I had got tree shilling in von pockate, and two half guinea in de oder pockate. She vas vary busy about mine breefhes; and ven I go to pay de reckoning I no find de money, for de bish had pick a mine pockate.

Here he was asked by the court if he did not give her the money; to which he replied as follows:

Give her de mony! no, I give her noting, and noting I had got to give her; for she take every ting out of mine breefhes but mine vash, and I was force to leave dat behind me for de reckoning. Den I call de lan-lord up stair, and ve make a dis voman strip off all her cloaths upon de tabel, and I feel all about,

about, and searsh her avery vare, but no find de money.—Vell den, de coonestable come and carry us before de shustice, and he send her to de presong.

The prisoner in her defence said, that as she was going to the White-Hart in Leicester-fields, in searsh of her husband, she met the Frenchman in Newport-Street, who asked her to drink a glass of wine: that at first she thought she had known him, but when she came to the tavern she found herself mistaken: that he there offered such indecent and shameful things to her, that she endeavoured to get away from him; but he said if she would not do as he desired, he'd fit her for it; and then charged her with picking his pocket: but though he made her strip herself to her skin, and searshed her all over, he could find nothing about her *but what was her own*.

The jury acquitted her.

*Account of the Trial of MARGARET FISHER,
alias SAILE, for Privately Stealing.*

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the month of September, 1722, *Margaret Fisher, alias Saile* was indicted for privately stealing thirteen guineas, from the person of Daniel Macdonald, on the 4th of September, 1722.

Macdonald gave his evidence in the following singular manner:

And leek yer Loardship, I had just taken my wages, thirteen guineas in goud, and was gawn alang King-strate, in Wastmanster, when I mat wi' this fow quean at the bare, and she speird where I was gawn; I taud her hame. She said, gen I wad ga wi' hur tull Joanny Davis's hoose, she wad gi' me

a drame, Sir, for, in troth, she tuck me for a poor gawkey, boss-headed chiel, and leek yer loardship. Sa she tuck haud o' my haind, and lad me a gat I kenna' reet weel. And when we came tull Joanny Davis's hoose, she caud for muckle beer and brandy, and gard me bung as a swobe, and leek yer hoanour. I staid there wi' her a pratty while; and thane, Sir, I pit my haind intull my bricks, to feel for money to pay the rackoning; but the deel a bawbie could I find, for it was aw tint. And when I speird about it, they glowred, and taud me, gen I wanna' tack my self awaw, they wad gar me ga, wi' a deel to me; and sa Sir, they dang me fu' fair, and turned me oot at the back door, intull the strate, and I rambled aboot, and cou' na' find the hoose agen: and the watchmen mat wi' me, and carried me intull the Roond-hoose. And thare I taud 'em hoo I hade been roabed. The neist moorning I gade and food oot Joanny Davis's hoose, but she was rin away and the prafoner too. But at neet, about faven a cloke, I mat wi' this ampudent betch at the bare, and tuck her up. I ken weel enuh that she must ha' my gowd, for na faul alse was wi' me but Joanny Davis, wha brote what we cawd for.—Let her dence it an she can——somebody (but I kenna' whaw it was) ofered me sax guineas in my haind to make the maiter up, but I wanna' tack it.

The prifoner in her defence said, that she met the profecutor and a coachman; that the coachman asked her to drink, and they went to Mrs. Davis's house; but that she was not near the profecutor, for she sat on the other side of the room; and when she was searched nothing was found upon her.

No body appeared to the prifoner's reputation. The jury found her guilty of the indictment, and she received sentence of Death; but had the good luck to escape hanging, for she pleaded her belly, and a jury of matrons being impannelled, they found her quick with child.

Account

Account of the Trial and Life of WILLIAM BURK, who was executed for Robberies.

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the month of February, 1722-3, *William Burk* of St. Dunstan's, Stepney, was indicted for assaulting *William Fitzer*, in an open field near the highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him a jacket, value 20 s. a tobacco-box, and a knife and fork, on the 11th of February.

He was a second time indicted for assaulting *James Westwood* in an open place near the highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him a coat, value 8 s. a rule, value 1 s. and 10s. in money, on the 9th of February.

First Indictment.

William Fitzer. On Monday, Feb. 11, I had been at Mile-End, and stopped at Stepney to drink a pint of beer. I went from thence between seven and eight at night, and in the first field, near the Back-Lane, I met the prisoner, with a great hedge-bill in his hand; he cut me in the head with the bill, and said, that I was the man he wanted, and he must have my jacket. He stood over me with the bill in his hand, while I pulled my jacket off, and then he took it from me, and bid me be gone, and not speak a word, for he had five accomplices in the fields; and, if I made a noise I was a dead man. So I left him, and on the Wednesday following I heard he was taken, and that the constable had found my knife and fork upon him,—and here they be.—

The prisoner took these and my tobacco-box along with my jacket.

Robert Andrews. My father, John Andrews, and I, having been at work at Mr. Langerwoods the Rope-maker, were going home on Wednesday the 13th of February, between seven and eight at night; and, in the second field next to the Back-lane, near the halfway house, the prisoner came up to us with a hedge-bill in his hand, swearing and damning, and bidding us stand; and, without any more to do, he chopped my father down with the hedge-bill: I thought my father had been murdered, and catching up his stick, I made at the prisoner. He struck me several times, and gave me a wound in my arm; but at last I closed in with him, forced him up against a bank, over-powered him, and took the hedge-bill from him. My father getting up, and a young man coming by at the same time, and assisting us, we secured the prisoner, and carried him to a constable.

This evidence was confirmed by John Andrews the father.

Jeremiah Perkins. It was I that assisted the two last witnesses in taking the prisoner; and I saw the constable take this knife and fork out of his pocket, which the prosecutor has sworn to.

The jury found the prisoner guilty.

The second Indictment.

James Westwood. As I was going home from work, on Saturday night the 9th of Feb. about seven o'clock, I was met by the prisoner, with a hedging-bill in his hand; he caught me fast by the collar, and, holding the bill over my head with one hand, he put his other hand into my pocket, took out 10 s. and asked me, "If that was all I had?" I said, "Yes." Then he bid me pull off my frock, for, he said, he must have that too; and, while I was stripping, he held

held his bill over me, and hurried me so, that I was afraid he would have cut me down before I could get it off. I told him I was but a poor man, and it was hard to take my frock too. He said, he knew me, and it would be best for me to go away quietly; for if I made any stir, or dared so much as once to look back, he had five accomplices in the field, and I should certainly be a dead man.—After he was committed to Newgate I went to him, and desired him to let me have my frock again. He told me, that he could not let me have it then, but, if I would come another day, he did not know what he might do.

The jury found him guilty; in consequence of which he received sentence of death.

An Account of William Burk.

William Burk was brought up at the charity-school in St. Catherine's near the Tower; for his parents were so poor, that they could not pay for his education. The natural perverseness of his temper was considerably improved by the foolish fondness of his mother, who humoured him in every thing that lay in her power. So much indulgence at home made him think the discipline of the school an intolerable severity; and, indeed his untowardly disposition made it necessary for his master to treat him less favourably than he did the rest of the boys. However, with much ado, he continued going to this school till he was eleven years old; but, having then played some uncommon pranks, for which he was rewarded with a more than usual correction, he resolved to run away at all adventures. And accordingly next morning, instead of going to school, he went to the water-side, to try if he could not get a place on board some ship. At last he met with a man who conducted him to Captain Hosier; a bargain

a bargain was soon made, and Will. was immediately carried down to the Nore, and put on board the Salisbury Man of War.

His mother was half distracted for the loss of her son; but some how, hearing where he was, she followed him, and used her utmost endeavours to bring him away; but Will. was inexorable, and swore he'd never go back with her.

In about a fortnight they sailed for Jamaica; and by the way (it being in the latter part of Queen Anne's Wars) they took two Spanish Galleons. The first engagement was long and bloody; and, as Will. was forced to bustle about in the midst of it, he received some hurt: but, not so much as to disable him. The other victory was gained more easily; for, though the Galleon carried 74 brass guns, and 650 men, the Salisbury, which was but a sixty gun ship, took her, without the loss of one man. There was a woman indeed (and the only one they had on board) who would needs peep out to see the fight; but, her curiosity cost her dear; for a chain-shot immediately took off her head and shoulders. The common sailors had 15l. a-piece for their shares of the prize-money; but, among the officers, the dividend was so considerable, that they had no occasion to go to Sea again.

Burk continued three years in the West-Indies, in which time, as he was a very diligent youth, he took all opportunities of pilfering any thing that came in his way, if it was not too heavy for him. This, of all employments, was what he most delighted in; for he would bestow more pains to steal what was not worth 2d. than was necessary to earn a shilling honestly.

There was a woman in Jamaica, who kept a tavern: she had been transported from Newgate several years before; but was now grown rich by marrying a planter, who soon left her a widow; she

She wanted a white servant, and prevailed with the Captain to let Will. be with her, to wait upon her customers, during the time he staid in Jamaica.

Thieving excepted, there was no business more agreeable to Burk than this, and he might have continued in it a considerable time, if he could but have been honest; but that was too hard a task for him; he could not forbear defrauding his mistress: but, as she was a knowing woman, she soon detected him. This was the first time he had been caught in his roguery, and, being terribly afraid of a severe punishment, he fell on his knees, and begged her to forgive him, and not to acquaint his captain with it. She (who had often been in the like case herself) knew not how to deny his request; but, as her own experience had taught her that promises of reformation are but little to be depended on, she could not trust him in her house any longer.

But, however, Burk upon this escape began to think of living honestly, and, shipping himself on board a merchant-man, made a voyage to Maryland. A merchant there, who had a large plantation, and besides kept a storehouse of English goods, offered to take him for a servant, and give him twelve pounds a year; but the captain would not consent to it.

His next voyage was to the coast of Guinea, and in this he went through great dangers and hardships; several of his ship-mates were decoyed away and murdered by the natives, and he himself escaped but narrowly. In returning homeward, their ship was much damaged by stress of weather; so that they were near five months in performing a voyage, which otherwise they expected to have made in two. In the mean time they were almost famished with hunger; for their provisions were so near expended, that each man would eat at a mouthful all that

that was allowed him for forty-eight hours. Thus they fared till nothing was left but a small quantity of flour, part of which, once in four days, was made into a kind of hasty-pudding, and divided in morsels among the ship's crew. And once or twice, before they arrived at Bristol, they were forced to fast five days together.

But, notwithstanding this ill success, Burk ventured upon another voyage in the Guinea trade. They had a great number of Negroes on board. These, resolving to struggle for that liberty, which no man had a right to take from them, formed a conspiracy to make themselves masters of the ship; but, being betrayed by one of their own nation, their design miscarried; though it was not without much difficulty that the English over-powered them.

Burk, returning again to England, entered himself in the Worcester Man of War, and sailed up the Baltick, and afterwards to Archangel in the North of Russia. In these voyages he suffered much by the extremity of the cold, and by many other hardships, which he was forced to endure, before he landed again in his native country.

But now, quite weary of a Sea-faring life, and unwilling to work on shore, he applied himself to robbing passengers in or near Stepney Fields: but, if what he said of himself may be credited, he did not continue long in this course; for in committing the fourth fact, he was apprehended.

As to his behaviour in Newgate, take it in the Chaplain's own words:

“ Before his execution, as he had lain so long a
 “ time, and as we had largely and distinctly explained
 “ to him the nature and duty of the Sacrament*,

* By——the duty of the Sacrament,——the Chaplain does not mean the Sacrament's duty, but the prisoner's duty to receive it.

“ fix several times, it was thought best to put him
 “ upon receiving it; so that he might have at least
 “ two days before his execution, to put in practice
 “ his good resolutions inspired by the Sacrament;
 “ and might not be hurried away directly from re-
 “ freshment of the Lord’s-Supper, to the place of
 “ execution; men being always terrified and shocked,
 “ more or less, at the instant sight of a shameful
 “ death. But yet he, at first, seemed unwilling to
 “ receive the Sacrament, unless the morning he was
 “ to be executed; because it had been usual then
 “ to give it to malefactors: at other times he said
 “ he intended not to receive it at all; being wholly
 “ unfixed in his thought: however, being asked,
 “ how he could fancy, that if his prayer that had
 “ been offered for so many weeks together, had no
 “ efficacy as to the pardon of his sins, he could
 “ imagine that his prayers, for only two or three
 “ days, would have any effect? And being told,
 “ that God looks more at the sincerity of the heart,
 “ than the numbers of the prayers; and that not our
 “ performances, but the blood of Christ must atone
 “ for our sins, he readily agreed, that it was best
 “ for him then to receive it; nor had he named the
 “ contrary, but that some of his friends put him
 “ upon it.

“ As the time of his death drew near, he seemed
 “ more and more earnest in his devotions; but com-
 “ plained that certain persons had endeavoured to
 “ persuade him he should be reprieved, which might
 “ have proved fatal to his welfare, had he given
 “ credit to them.

“ Being told of the cruelty of his heart, that
 “ could induce him to dash out any man’s brains,
 “ and send him into another world unready and
 “ unprepared, he several times cried in a lamenta-
 “ ble manner, saying, that if there was any mercy

“ in store for him, it must proceed from the merits
 “ of Jesus Christ, his Saviour and Redeemer.”

The following consummate piece of nonsense, evidently written by the ordinary of Newgate, is given to the public as the speech of the malefactor, at the place of execution,

Good People,

I Was never concerned but in four robberies, which chief inducement was forced from me, for the anxious concern which I bore to my wife. I desire all young men to take warning by me, and not be concerned in women's company, it being the entire ruin of me; which had I took the advice of my loving wife, I had not relapsed to this unhappy end: therefore I desire that my unhappy misfortunes may be an entire satisfaction to the world, and not be their total overthrow.

He was hanged at Tyburn, on the 8th of April 1723. in the 22d year of his age.

The Trial of SARAH PRIDDON, alias SALLY SALISBURY for an assault, with an intent to murder the Honourable J——F——, Esq.

THERE are so many questions asked, and so many replies given, in the course of the following trial, that it will be impossible to throw it into the narrative form, without rendering it less intelligible than it is in its present form: we shall therefore

therefore give it from the most authentic account that has ever been published.

In February, 1722-3, the grand jury for the County of Middlesex, found a bill of indictment against Sally Salisbury, for assaulting and wounding the honourable J—F—, Esq. with an intent to murder him, on which indictment she was to have been tried at the Sessions then held at Justice-Hall, in the Old-Bailey. But upon an affidavit made, that she was sick, and could not be brought down to her trial, without danger of her life, her trial was deferred till the next sessions in April, 1723, to which time it was fixed by a rule of court.—
And accordingly,

On Wednesday, April 24, 1723,

Sarah Priddon, alias Sally Salisbury, was indicted, for that she, on the 22d of December, 1722, in the 9th year of his majesty's reign, violently, and with malice fore-thought, upon the honourable J——F——, Esq. made an assault, and with a knife, then held in her left hand, stabbed him in the left part of his body, near the breast, and between the fourth and fifth rib, and thereby gave him a wound of the length of one inch, and depth of three inches, of which wound he long languished.

And that in the manner aforesaid, she struck and wounded the said honourable J——F——, Esq. with an intent to kill and murder him, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity, and the statute in that case made and provided.

The council for the king having opened the indictment, and charge against the prisoner, proceeded to open the evidence to this effect,

F 2

That

That at the Three-tun tavern in Chandois-street, in Covent-garden, the prisoner came to Mr. F——, and without receiving the least provocation from him, took up a case-knife, and stabbed him in the breast, giving him so dangerous a wound, that, had it not been for the timely assistance of the surgeons, he had died; and, notwithstanding their utmost endeavours, his life was long despaired of.

Joseph Thorp, the drawer. Mr. F—— came to my master's house, the Three-tun tavern in Chandois-street, in Covent-garden, on the 22d of December, about twelve at night. He called for a pint of mountain, and said, he was very cold, and wanted to warm himself. The last company being gone out of the house, except two or three grave gentlemen, who were drinking a glass of wine with my master in the room behind the bar; most of the family being gone to bed, and I myself a going, that I might rise the sooner to bottle off some wine that was to be sent into the country next morning; I desired Mr. F—— to excuse my attendance; but, he telling me that he intended to stay no longer than to drink that one pint, I filled him a glass, and went away. The company then going from behind the bar, I went to Mrs. Ditton, the bar-keeper, told her that Mr. F—— was cold, and there was but little fire in the room where he sat, and desired her to let him come into that room behind the bar. She bid me tell the gentleman, she should take it as an honour if he'd be pleased to let her have his company. I went to Mr. F——, and found him asleep, with his cloak wrapped round him; but, taking the liberty to awake him, I delivered Mrs. Ditton's message, and he went into the bar-room where she was. As I was very inclinable to go to bed, I desired Mr. F—— to let me know if he had any further commands. He bid me fill him another glass, which I did,

did, and he then telling me that he had no further commands, I went to bed.

About two in the morning the maid called me, and said, Mrs. Salisbury (the prisoner) was come, and, wanted a pint of Frontiniac. I arose, drew a pint, and carried it, with a French roll and a knife, into the room where the prisoner was in company with Mr. F——. I filled her a glass, and then, shutting the door, I retired toward the fire. Some discourse past betwixt them about an opera ticket, which, as I apprehended, Mr. F—— had given to some person, without the prisoners knowledge; but, as I could not distinctly hear all they said, I did not thoroughly understand the matter. Mr. F—— was then sitting open-breasted, close by the prisoner; she had in her hand the knife that I had brought in with the French roll.—'Tis usual to carry a knife with a roll.—And, as they were talking about this opera ticket, she made a motion with her hand, like a push, at Mr. F——: I did not presently know what was done; but he, rising up, clapped his hand upon his breast, and said, “Madam, you have wounded me!” hearing that, I stepped up to him, and took off his hand, and saw the blood run out, upon which I went immediately and fetched a surgeon. Somebody else called Mr. Colthart, and, upon his coming the prisoner satisfied the other surgeon for his trouble, and desired Mr. Colthart to dress Mr. F——. Mr. Colthart probed the wound, and then cut it a little more open. The prisoner seeing that, shrieked out, and said, “O Lord! what are ye doing? and then fell into fits. In a little time she recovered, and the surgeon going to dress the wound, she went out of the room, but came in again before he had done, and asked Mr. F——, how he did? and, what he would have? he answered “Very bad, and worse than “you imagine.” She replied, “Jacky, you are not “so bad as you think for.”—We happened to have in
the

the house a little broth, that was made for my master: it was brought to Mr. F——, and he drank some of it. The prisoner going towards the kitchen, I heard her say, “I’ll make the case better than it is to Mr. F——, because he is much dispirited.”

There was a pint or two more of Frontiniac drank in the company, but I think Mr. F—— drank none of it. Then two chairs were called, one for him, and the other for the prisoner, and they went away together; but whether or no they went to his lodgings, I cannot tell; for I did not hear the orders given to the chairmen.

The King’s Council. Was not there a glass of wine thrown in somebody’s face, before Mr. F—— was wounded?

Thorp. There was.—The prisoner threw it into Mrs. Darby’s face.

K. Council. For what reason?

Thorp. An Opera ticket had been given to the prisoner’s sister.—It was supposed that Mr. F—— gave it her.—It seems Mrs. Darby knew of this, but did not acquaint the prisoner with it; and therefore the prisoner threw the wine in her face.

K. Council. In what temper was Mr. F——, at the time the wound was given?

Thorp. In a very good temper.

K. Council. And in what humour did the prisoner appear to be?

Thorp. She seemed to be very angry.—They were talking about an opera ticket, and, upon Mr. F——’s saying, “I gave it!” the blow was immediately struck.

Mrs. Ditton. Mr. F—— came to our house about twelve at night, and, in about a quarter of an hour afterwards, the prisoner, and her sister, and another woman more, came in a coach. Mr. F—— saluted the prisoner when she first came in, and she called for a pint of Frontiniac. The drawer being a bed,

a-bed, the maid called him up.* He drew the wine, filled out a glass, and gave it to the prisoner to drink to Mr. F——. I having been at the opera, the prisoner asked me, if I had ever seen the king before, and how I liked him? I answered, that I had never seen him before, and that I liked him very well. Then she asked me, who it was that gave her sister the opera ticket? “I believe,” says I, “Mrs. Darby can tell you;” and with that she threw a glass of wine in Mrs. Darby’s face. I suppose it was because Mrs. Darby had not told her who it was that had given the ticket to her sister. The prisoner asked me next, if I did not see a certain gentleman at the opera. I said, “Yes.” “And did not he come to my sister, and talk to her?” says she. I answered, “No he did not.”

The Prisoner’s Council. Don’t you think that Mrs. Salisbury apprehended that this gentleman had some design upon her sister?

Mrs. Ditton. I believe she thought so, and that was the reason she did what she did.

K. Council. And what was that?

Mrs. Ditton. Some words passed between her and Mr. F——, about an opera ticket; but, as I was on the other side of the room, I could not hear distinctly all that was said. Two other persons were in the room, but the prisoner and Mr. F—— were sitting together, and she had the knife in her hand, and in the discourse, upon Mr. F——’s saying, “he gave it,” I saw the motion of her hand towards him, though the motion was so very quick, that I did not see the blow given; but, as soon as I perceived that he was wounded, I went immediately for a surgeon. The surgeon came, and dressed the

* The drawer swore he was called up about two o’clock; but, according to this evidence, it was before one.

wound;

wound ; and ,while it was dressing, the prisoner went out of the room.

After the wound was dressed, the prisoner came into the room again. Mr. F—— complaining of the pain of the wound, she said to him, “ Jacky,— “ do you forgive me ?” and he answered, “ Yes, I “ do, and can die with pleasure by your hand.” Then, says she, “ if you do forgive me, come and “ salute me ;” and he did as she desired. And when he was going away, she said she would go home with him, and take care of him.

Mr. Colthart, the surgeon. About four o’clock in the morning I was called up to assist a gentleman who was wounded at the Three-tun tavern. When I came there, I found Mr. F—— sitting in a chair, with his head leaning backwards. His pulse was very low, and he fetched his breath with great difficulty. I spoke to him about his breathing, and he said, he could hardly breathe at all. The wound was between the third and fourth rib. He bled inwardly, and therefore I took an instrument to dilate the wound, that the blood might discharge itself outwardly. The prisoner upon that shrieked out, and said, “ For “ God’s sake don’t cut him !” I answered, “ I am “ going to save his life.” Then she fainted, and fell upon the floor. When I had dressed him, she called me, and asked me, what I thought of the wound ? I told her it was a dangerous one, and more dangerous than she might apprehend. She answered, “ I was the person that gave it ; and if he dies, “ I don’t desire to live a minute longer.” And then, turning to the gentleman, she said, “ Mr. F——, you “ have had a cold this two or three days, and if “ you bleed a little, it will be the better for it.” Next morning I went to Mr. F——’s chambers ; the prisoner was there ; and, upon my telling her the wound was dangerous, she desired to have the advice and assistance of other surgeons. And accordingly she

she sent for Mr. Palmer——After this the Lord F——, out of a tender concern for his brother, sent for Dr. Mead, Mr. Bouffiere, and Mr. Green. But, notwithstanding all the care and art that could be used, Mr. F—— lay in a dangerous condition for two months.

The Prisoner's Council. We shall not take up the time of the court, by endeavouring to prove (in contradiction to what has been sworn) that the prisoner did not assault and wound the prosecutor: we will grant that she did. But then, as to that part of the indictment, which charges her with wounding him with malice *prepenſe*, and with a design to kill and murder him, we apprehend there has been no proof. The fact appears to have been committed in a sudden start of passion, when she knew not what she did.—She had then a great concern upon her mind for the *honour* of her sister whom she had *virtuously* educated, and whose *virtue*, she apprehended, was in danger of being attacked; as appears from her enquiring if a certain gentleman had not been with her sister at the opera: and, at the same time imagining, that the opera ticket had been given to her sister by Mr. F——, to put her in the way of being seduced by that gentleman. Her resentment of this hurried her on to an action, which otherwise she would have lost her life, rather than have been guilty of.

But that she had no malice, no design by that act, to kill or murder the prosecutor, appears by her immediate sorrow, by her tenderness and concern for him after the unhappy blow was given. It even appears, that the prosecutor himself had no thought of her having any such design, when he so freely and readily forgave her. And further, we can call several witnesses to prove, that there had been for a considerable time a friendship and intimacy between them.

King's Council. You may spare yourselves that trouble; for if we allow, that there was a preceeding intimacy, and what you call friendship between them, it will be but of little service to the prisoner. There are too many instances of real friendship, which, by some affront or misunderstanding has been turned to the greatest enmity, and produced the most fatal consequences. But persons of the prisoner's character can scarce be supposed to be capable of a sincere friendship.

As to the pretended provocation, her apprehension of her sister's *honour* being in danger, by which that sudden start of passion (as you call it) was raised, there has been no proof of the prosecutor's having given her any occasion on that account. Besides, the pretence will by no means agree with the prisoner's known character, nor perhaps with her sister's neither.

As for the concern she shewed, after the commission of the fact, it is very reasonable to suppose, it was on her own account, and not on his; for, had he died by that wound, she well enough knew what the consequence would have been. She knew that her own life must have made satisfaction [as far as it could] for the loss of his.

Mr. F——, it seems readily forgave.—This indeed shewed the goodness of his temper; but it is little sign of the goodness of her's. It's no argument for clearing her from a malicious intent to murder him; and is so far from extenuating, that it aggravates her offence, in using such a gentleman with such barbarity.

If Mr. F—— had unfortunately died of the wound she gave him, as there was too much reason to believe he would, this, in the eye of the law, could have been no less than murder; for she had not received the least provocation. Murder always implies malice prepenſe, and a design to kill; and therefore

therefore the giving that dangerous wound, without provocation, cannot be deemed to be done otherwise, than with such malice, and such a design, though the gentleman had the happiness to survive it; for the consequence of an action cannot alter the prior intention of the mind.

The jury found her guilty of assaulting and wounding the prosecutor; but acquitted her of doing it with an intent to kill and murder him.

The court sentenced her to pay a fine of 100 l. to suffer one year's imprisonment, and to find security for her good behaviour for two years more.

She died in Newgate, on February 11, 1723-4; and on the 14th of the same month was buried at the parish of St. Andrew's Holborn, and left behind her the character of as eminent a punk as ever the hundreds of Drury could boast of.

Account of the Trials, Life and Behaviour of
 THOMAS ATHOE the Elder, Mayor or Ten-
 by in Pembroke-shire, and THOMAS ATHOE
 the Younger, his Son, who were executed for
 Murder.

AT the assizes held at Hereford, on the 19th of March, 1722-3 *Thomas Athoe* the Elder, and *Thomas Athoe* the Younger, [who by a Habeas Corpus were brought thither from Pembroke-shire] were indicted for the murder of George Merchant, by beating and kicking him on the head, face, breast, and privy members, and thereby giving him several mortal wounds and bruises, on the 23d of November, 1722, of which he died the same day.

They were a second time indicted on the Coroner's Inquisition for the said murder.

The principal witness against the prisoners was Thomas Merchant, (the deceased's brother.) They had used him in so barbarous a manner, that, at the time of the trial, though it was four months afterwards, he was in so weak a condition that he could not stand, and therefore the court permitted him to give his evidence sitting.

The Evidence against the Prisoners was to this Effect.

On the 23d of November, 1722, a fair being that day kept at Tenby, in Pembroke-shire, the prisoners came thither to sell some cattle, and there they met with the deceased, George Merchant, and his brother Thomas Merchant. A quarrel arising, young Athoe and the deceased fell to fighting; but the deceased had the advantage, and beat young Athoe. Upon this, old Athoe was advised by some pettifogger, to bring an action against the deceased; but he answered, "No, no, we won't take the law, but we'll pay them in their own coin."

The fair breaking up between ten and eleven at night, the deceased and his brother left the town. The prisoners went to the inn (where the two brothers had taken horse) and enquired which way they were gone. The ostler giving them the best information he could, they mounted and following them directly. The brothers stopt on the road, at a place called Holloway's-water, to let their horses drink. Presently they heard a trampling of other horses behind them; and, turning about, saw two men on horseback at a little distance, but the night was so dark, that they could not discern who they were; though they were not long in doubt, for they heard old Athoe's voice.

This

This put them under strong apprehensions that some mischief was intended; for old Athoe when he was at the fair, had threatened a severe revenge, and therefore, to prevent it, they endeavoured to conceal themselves behind the bridge, but the splashing of their horses discovered them. The prisoners coming up with great flicks, "I owe thee a pass, and now thou shalt have it," said young Athoe to the deceased, and knocked him off his horse. Thomas Merchant was served in the like manner by old Athoe, who, at the same time cried out, "Kill the dogs! kill the dogs!"

The brothers begged them for God's sake to spare their lives; but the prisoners had no regard to their cries. Old Athoe fell upon Thomas Merchant, beating him in a terrible manner, and taking fast hold of his privities, pulled and squeezed him to such a violent degree, that, had he continued so doing a few minutes longer, it had been impossible for the poor man to have survived it. The pain he suffered, is past expression, and yet it fell short of what his brother endured. Young Athoe, when he had tired himself with beating him, seized him by the privy members, and his yard being extended, he broke the muscles of it, and tore out one of his testicles; and calling to his father, said, "Now I have done George Merchant's business!"

This horrible action occasioned a vast effusion of blood: but young Athoe's revenge was not yet glutted,—for catching hold of the deceased's nose with his teeth, he bit it quite off, and afterwards tied a handkerchief so tight about his neck, that the flesh almost covered it.—The last words the deceased was heard to say were, "Don't bite my nose off."—He lived a few hours in the most grievous agony imaginable, and then expired.

When his body was examined by the surgeons, they declared, that, by the bruises they found upon him,

him, they believed the blows he received were alone sufficient to have killed six or seven men. He had twenty-two bruises on his back, three great ones on his head, and two on his breast.

The prisoners in their defence said, that they were assaulted upon the road by the brothers, who had long borne them a grudge ; and that what they did was in their own defence.

The jury found a special verdict, upon which the case was referred to the determination of the whole Bench of Judges ; and the prisoners were brought up to London, and committed to the King's Bench Prison in Southwark, where they lay till Saturday, June 22, 1723, and then were carried up to the court of King's-Bench in Westminster-hall.

In their motion for an arrest of judgment at the King's-Bench Bar, the point of law debated was, " Whether a man can be tried for a fact, in a county " in which the fact was not committed." The question was decided on producing the act of parliament, which enacts, " That all murders and robberies, committed in, on, or about the borders of Wales, shall " be triable in any county in England, where the " criminal shall be taken."

Young Athoe made some trifling excuses in behalf of his father.

Then the court proceeded to judgment, and both the prisoners received sentence of death. After which they were carried back to the King's-Bench Prison.

An account of Thomas Athoe the father, and Thomas Athoe the son.

Thomas Athoe the elder was born at Carew, about three miles from Mannerbeer, in the county of Pembroke, in the principality of Wales. Mannerbeer was the place of his last habitation (before the murder

murder was committed.) He rented there upwards of a hundred a year, and lived (as he said) in good repute for the space of twenty-four years. In the year 1721, and part of the year 1722, he served the office of mayor in the corporation of Tenby, which town is two miles from Mannerbeer, and six from Pembroke, and is joined with Pembroke in the privilege of electing one Burgess to serve in parliament.

His family consisted of a wife and two children. His second child was Thomas Athoe the younger, who was born in the parish of Mannerbeer. He always lived with his father, who had brought him up to husbandry and grazing.—In the time of the old man's mayoralty, this son of his served as Bailiff of Tenby.

George Merchant, the murdered person, and Thomas Merchant his brother were nephews (by the mother's side) to Athoe the elder; for their father, John Merchant, a husbandman in the same parish of Mannerbeer, married old Athoe's sister.

After the murder was committed young Athoe was sent to Ireland: but those who were concerned in sending him, were soon obliged to use their utmost endeavours to get him back again; and by good management they succeeded.

As to the behaviour of the father and son, in the King's-Bench Prison, and at the place of execution, take it in the words of Thomas Dyche, the chaplain of that prison.

—“ I press them both very earnestly to make an
“ open and full confession of the crimes whereof they
“ stood convicted.

“ In all my visitings of the prisoners, I found the
“ spirit of devotion always upon them: they behaved
“ themselves with that temper, gravity and tenderness,
“ which became them, and employed their time very
“ much

“ much in reading of such books as were suitable to
 “ their melancholy circumstances.

“ They expressed abundance of seeming penitence,
 “ praying earnestly, and declaring that they were in
 “ charity with all the world.

“ However, they pretended that they had been in-
 “ jured by the Merchants :

“ First, In their detaining an estate from them.

“ Secondly, That they, the Merchants, had bought
 “ some cattle out of their hands at Weston Fair, Octo-
 “ ber 28, 1721.

“ Thirdly, That the Merchants had opposed their
 “ elections : And,

“ Fourthly, That Mr. George Merchant, the mur-
 “ dered person, had married a sweetheart of young
 “ Athoe's.

“ Now, admitting all these pleas of the Athoe's to
 “ be true, will they justify the crying sin of murder,
 “ when the Almighty has declared, that, “ He that
 “ sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be
 “ shed ?”

“ Thus therefore, prompted by jealousy and re-
 “ venge, these criminals committed this horrid fact,
 “ for which they have deservedly suffered the justice
 “ of the law.

“ In the whole course of the proceedings against
 “ them, all the favours they desired were granted ;
 “ notwithstanding which the county of Pembroke,
 “ upon what grounds are unknown, took their part,
 “ as not believing the facts so bad as they were prov-
 “ ed to be upon the strongest evidence.

“ They buoyed up each other with hopes of life,
 “ 'till the rule of court came down for their execu-
 “ tion. After this, they began to shew some signs
 “ of prevarication ; for (I was assured at the prison,
 “ by the testimonies of several persons) they denied
 “ some circumstances which they had before owned :
 “ particularly the time of Mr. George Merchant's
 “ decease,

“ de cease, which was close put to them by a divine,
 “ the very morning of their execution.

“ Mr. Chapman, the turnkey, also assured me, that
 “ on Thursday night they offered him a very confi-
 “ derable reward to be permitted to make their es-
 “ cape; but finding they could not prevail with him
 “ to break his trust, they earnestly desired him to
 “ attend them to the place of execution; and that
 “ he would take care their bodies might not hang long-
 “ er exposed to public view, than the time the law
 “ prescribed.

“ When they were tied up, by the executioner, old
 “ Athoe covered his face first, and after he was turned
 “ off, he bled very much at the nose.

“ On Friday the 5th of July, 1723, about 11 o'clock
 “ in the morning, they were conveyed in a cart to the
 “ place of execution. When they came to the fatal
 “ tree, they behaved themselves in a very decent
 “ manner, embracing each other in the most tender
 “ and affectionate manner; and indeed the son's hid-
 “ ing his face bedewed with tears, in his father's
 “ bosom, was, notwithstanding the barbarous action
 “ they had committed, a very moving spectacle.

“ When our devotions were finished, the father de-
 “ clared,—“ That he was innocent of the crime
 “ laid to his charge, and, that he had not lifted
 “ up his hand against George Merchant, the de-
 “ ceased.

“ The son declared,—“ That he had no premi-
 “ ditated malice against George Merchant, the de-
 “ ceased; but that being assaulted, what he did was
 “ in his own defence; that the deceased having no
 “ hair upon his head to get hold of, the damage he
 “ received must be by his handkerchief, which was
 “ tied about his neck in two knots. And he shewed
 “ the spectators, by pointing to his own neck, in what
 “ manner he throttled him.

“ On Friday, June 28, the prisoners received the
 “ Holy Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, with great
 “ reverence and devotion: and, early in the morn-
 “ ing before their execution, they did the same.

“ They begged of all good people to take warn-
 “ ing by their ignominious death. They had some
 “ time allowed to their private devotions, and then
 “ the cart drew away, they all the while crying out,
 “ Lord have mercy upon us! Christ have mercy up-
 “ on us.

“ There were two other divines with me, to assist
 “ upon this occasion. The bodies were brought from
 “ the place of execution in two hearses to the Falcon
 “ Inn in Southwark, in order, as was said, to be
 “ buried in St. George’s church-yard.”

Old Athoe was about 58 years of age, and his son
 wanted but one day of being 24 years old, at the time
 of their deaths.

They were executed at a place called St. Tho-
 mas’s-Watering, a little beyond Kent-street in Surry.

*Account of the Trial of JOHN STANLEY, who
 was executed for Murder; with the History
 of his Life and Behaviour.*

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the
 month of December, 1723, John Stanley of
 London, Gentleman, was indicted for the murder of
 Hannah Maycock, Widow, by giving her, with a
 drawn sword, one mortal wound near the left pap,
 of the length of half an inch, and the depth of
 nine

nine inches, on the 20th of October, 1723, of which wound she instantly died.

He was a second time indicted on the Coroner's Inquisition for the said murder.

Mary Morehen deposed, that the deceased, Mrs. Maycock, came to her cousin's, Mrs. Leek, to visit Mrs. Edwards, who was sick, and as the deceased was going away, she desired her cousin to send her word if Mrs. Edwards grew worse: and accordingly, about ten at night, Mrs. Edwards growing worse, her cousin desired her to go and fetch the deceased, and Mr. Hammond offering to go with her, they went together to Mrs. Maycock's lodgings in Burleigh-Street.

Mrs. Maycock immediately came with them, and in their way back two gentlemen came up to them, near the King's Head Tavern in Chancery-Lane; when one of them clapped his arm round Mrs. Maycock's waist, and the other round this deponent's, and said they should go with them.

Hereupon Mr. Hammond desired them to let the ladies go, saying they belonged to him: but the gentlemen swore that the women should go with them, or they would go with the women, for they would know whither they were going. One of these gentlemen was the prisoner, and the deceased happening to look in his face, knew him, and said, "What, Captain, is it you?" He asked her whither she was going, she answered, "To that gentleman's (Mr. Hammond's) house in the Old Bailey:" He replied. "I am glad I have met ye, and I'll go along with ye."—She thanked him, but said there was no occasion, since Mr. Hammond was there to take care of them; but the prisoner was resolute, and would go with them.

When they came to St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street, Mr. Stanley desired the other gentleman who was with him, to go back to a particular place, and

he would come to him presently ; but the gentleman not going, Stanley said to him, “ Why dont ye go ? ” and added something in a language this deponent did not understand ; but she imagined it was French, and thereupon the gentleman went away, but seemingly with the utmost unwillingness.

The prisoner then bid Mr. Hammond go before, which he refused, and the prisoner walked with the deceased, and this deponent followed. They had not gone far before the prisoner struck a man that they met, for happening to be in his way, and, for the same reason, he kicked a woman who was crossing the kennel near Fleet-Bridge.

When they came to Mr. Hammond’s house in the Old Bailey, they thanked the prisoner for waiting on them, and desired him to go home ; but he refused, and said he would go in ; yet they endeavoured to dissuade him, by telling him that Mrs. Maycock was come to stay all night with a gentleman who was sick : but all they could urge signified nothing ; the deceased rushed in, and the other parties followed him.

When this deponent came into the kitchen, the prisoner was standing on one side of the door, and the deceased on the other : in a little time Mr. Hammond went into the yard, and this deponent went into the shop to fetch some milk which she intended to boil for her supper ; but she had no sooner got the milk in her hand, than she heard the deceased cry out, “ Mrs. Leek !—Mrs. Leek !—I am stabbed !—“ I am murdered ! ”

Surprized at this, she threw down the milk, ran to the kitchen door, and asked what was the matter ; to which the prisoner answered, “ Nothing.” The deceased was then standing on one side of the table, with her hands across her breast, and looking at the prisoner with all the innocence imaginable,

ginable, and in a little time she fell on the ground, and said to this deponent, " Dear Mrs. Morehen, I " am stabbed ! "

The prisoner stood on the other side of the table, flourishing his sword, and swore that whatever man or woman entered the room, he would kill them; upon which this deponent fell on her knees in the door-way, and begged both for her own life, (for he directed his sword to her breast,) and that he would permit some help to come, that what injury had been done to the deceased might, if possible, be repaired.

This deponent then crying out for a surgeon, Mr. Hammond came out of the yard, but could not readily get into the room, because she was on her knees in the door-way. Some other persons now coming, passed by her into the room to disarm the prisoner, who soon submitted, suffered them to take his sword away, and then he said, " My name is John " Stanley. "

This deponent then ran and fetched Mr. Snowd the surgeon, and as he came in, the prisoner laid himself over the deceased, and said, " My dear Hannah, won't you speak to me ? — " Mr. Snowd said to the prisoner, " What, Captain ! will you never " have done with your tricks ! " and viewing the deceased, he said she was dead. They then got her up stairs, cut her lace, and the strings of her cloaths, and put her to bed: in a little time her senses returned, when she said she was stabbed—she was wounded—she was a dead woman; and, calling upon God for mercy, she died in about an hour and a half after the blow was given.

The greater part of the above was confirmed by Mr. Hammond, Mrs. Hammond, the surgeon and other witnesses; and the constable deposed, that as he was carrying the prisoner to the watch-house, he swore outrageously,

outrageously, and said, if she was not dead, he hoped she would be.

One Mr. Leaf deposed, that about a year and a half before, he heard the prisoner threaten, that he would kill Mrs. Maycock when he met with her.

The prisoner, in his defence, said, "I don't deny
 "that I killed the deceased, but she gave me,
 "great provocation. I had had a child by her
 "which is now three years and a half old. I up-
 "braided her for unnaturalness in not taking care to
 "provide some necessaries for the child, when she
 "knew my circumstances were such, that I must be
 "obliged to leave the kingdom; and as I had given
 "her some old shirts of mine, which were bloody,
 "and had been cut with swords, I desired her to
 "make them up for the child. She, I suppose,
 "was provoked at my speaking of this in a place
 "where nothing of it was known, and thereupon she
 "gave me very ill language, struck at me, and of-
 "fered to throw a pot in my face, which raised my
 "passion in such a degree, that, not knowing what I
 "did, I unhappily wounded her."

Then he called witnesses, who endeavoured (by relating some of his extravagant actions) to persuade the court he was lunatic.

His mother deposed, that, for a considerable time, he had been fitter for Bedlam, than to walk the streets.

Another witness said, that one time the prisoner, without any provocation given him, fell into such a violent storm of passion, that he frightened a woman out of her house.

A third witness deposed, that the prisoner, being at the house of Mr. Underhill, one who was then in company happened to repeat a sentence of Latin, at which the prisoner appeared so much disturbed, that he pulled out a penknife, and attempted to stab himself,

himself, and that he had not been rightly in his senses, since the death of his father, who died, as it was thought, with grief, about two years ago, on account of the prisoner's misconduct.

The jury found him guilty; in consequence of which he received sentence of death.

While sentence was giving, he took snuff, and when it was passed, he thanked the court and the jury, and said, he had been so unkindly treated by his friends and relations, that death was welcome to him.

An Account of John Stanley.

JOHN Stanley was born at Duce-hall in Essex, (the seat of his mother's brother, Mr. Palmer) in the year 1698. When he was not above five years old, his father, who was an officer in the army, would frequently parry with him, and sometimes prick him with a drawn sword; nor was he content with doing thus himself, but put other officers upon playing the fool with the boy in the same manner. This practice was to make a sword so familiar to him in his childhood, that he might never be afraid of one; and they never spared to encourage him in such exercise, by giving him wine, or other strong liquors. And, as he was a forward babe, he made daily improvements: he feared nothing, cared for nobody, and grew so very mischievous and saucy, that old Stanley thought him a miracle of courage and wit.

While he was yet a stripling, his father took him into the army, which was then in Spain. There he saw several engagements, with which he was wonderfully pleased; but his chief delight was (when a battle was ended) to walk about the field, and trample upon the dead bodies.

Old Stanley being afterwards ordered to Ireland, he took his son with him thither too, and there procured

cured him the post of an ensign; but Jack fell into so much rakish company, and spent so extravagantly, that, to raise a little ready money, he was soon obliged to part with his commission, and return to England.

Old Stanley was very much vexed at this; though, willing to do what he could for his son, he advised him to apply to General Stanhope, who had been a friend to their family, and would probably promote him: but this, and all other good advice, was thrown away upon the young gentleman; for he was grown so fond of a loose, debauched life, that he would not so much as endeavour to procure any employment of credit, but chose to live by spunging upon his friends, by haunting the gaming-tables, and becoming a petticoat-pensioner.—This last he was exceedingly vain of, and frequently urged it as an argument of his being a very pretty fellow: though what he got from some, he squandered away upon others, who were not it seems, so charmed with his person, as to grant their favours, before he had paid the market-price.

He could not, even when he was in Newgate, refrain from boasting of his lewdness; and, though some of the women he conversed with were not common prostitutes, but private sinners, he shewed not the least regard to their reputation; but would mention their names and dwelling-places, at any time, and before any company; and, it was well, if his vanity did not carry him so far, as to defame the virtuous to whom perhaps he had never spoke, or who had treated him with that indignation his behaviour had merited.

Among others he named two gentlewomen who lived by Cheap-side-conduit, and several at Richmond; and made no scruple of grossly describing the liberties which (he said) he had taken with them. When some, who heard him relate these adventures, checked him

him for priding himself so much in his vices; he told them, these were gaieties and gallantries that all men practised, or, which was the same thing, all men wished to practise.

The better to support his extravagancies, he neglected no opportunities of introducing himself to young gentlemen, who knew but little of the world, and helping them to squander their fortunes in the modish diversions and vices of the town.

Having spent a considerable time in revelling at home, he went with one of his companions to Flanders, and afterwards to France. They staid a pretty while at Paris. Stanley boasted much of favours received from the French ladies, and of the great improvements he had made in fencing.

At his return to England, the opinion he had of his own skill in using a sword, made him very quarrelsome. He would intrude into any company at a tavern, tell them he was come to make himself welcome to part of a bottle or a dinner, and so, without any farther ceremony, sit down among them. This, for the sake of peace, was sometimes born with, though even then, instead of thanking the company for a handsome treat, it was a wonder if he did not pretend that he had received some affront by a word or a look, and therefore demand satisfaction, clap his hand to his sword, put the house in an uproar, and then walk off. But he did not always escape so; for now and then he met with gentlemen who handsomely chastised him for his impudence.

Of all the women he kept company with, the most noted was Mrs. Maycock. The manner of his first acquaintance with her, and a few other particulars, we shall copy from the life of Mr. John Stanley, a pamphlet written by the Ordinary of Newgate.—The Ordinary's writings are commonly in the profound stile, but this performance is in the sublime, as will appear.

Page 14. “ — — Being of an active spirit, and
 “ having no employ, he frequented the gaming-houses,
 “ which lately were at Covent-garden, Brandbury’s,
 “ Nottingham’s, &c. He was generally fortunate,
 “ and got enough to live gay the following night and
 “ day. Being one evening in an airy humour, he
 “ met Mr. Bryan, (who was a Hosier in Newgate-
 “ street) conducting his sister Maycock along the street
 “ (whose husband was a Mercer on Ludgate-hill.)
 “ The Captain jostled the man, and embraced the
 “ woman: but, Mr. Bryan bidding him let alone
 “ what belonged to him, (Bryan) a quarrel arose that
 “ was calmed before blood was shed; and so amica-
 “ bly, that the enemies went together, and drowned
 “ their rage in liquor: so that from anger, friendship
 “ and mutual love arose.

“ Mr. Stanley went home, but left his heart be-
 “ hind. The sister’s image (formed from the loose
 “ paintings of an amorous heart) played in beauteous
 “ figures on his brain, as her shape seemed to glance
 “ pleasing before his sight. The dawn awoke that
 “ scatters silver and pearls upon the fields and flow-
 “ ers; but could not sprinkle any quiet upon his
 “ heart. Afterwards, augmenting his acquaintance
 “ with the family, he met with her at a gentleman’s
 “ in Red-lion-street. After this he was admitted to
 “ drink tea with her, she and her husband being
 “ then removed into Southwark. Her fine hand
 “ appeared as she reached the lady-loved weed, and
 “ as she placed the glittering concave of china’s clay,
 “ which seemed proud in their range, but in their
 “ ranger more so. This liquid, though of a cold and
 “ quenching nature, was the occasion of a flame that
 “ entered him. He came to me that night at the
 “ Blue-posts in Holborn, where the violent passion of
 “ his mind was displayed by the soft language of his
 “ tongue; and she was indeed a fine woman; beau-
 “ tiful in her features, and easy in her air.

“ It was then that her husband died in Southwark.
 “ Her brother also quitted his shop in Newgate-street,
 “ and went to dwell upon Tower-hill. Many months
 “ were not over, before Mr. Stanley revived his ac-
 “ quaintance, and now he can do it with greater
 “ boldness. He armed his eyes with all their darts,
 “ and his lips with their softest sighs; those eyes and
 “ lips, which had made maids melt to his bosom
 “ and softened many to his inclination. He trembled
 “ and touched her hand, but touching would not
 “ cure his trembling. He shewed me the copy of
 “ a letter that he sent her, and I have the copy
 “ by me, but it is too long here to insert. He therein
 “ says,”

“ I am to-morrow to be at the opera, oh! that I
 “ I could add, with her I love. The opera, where
 “ beauties, less beauteous than thou, sit panting, ad-
 “ mired, and take the sweet barbarian sounds. On
 “ Friday I shall be at the masquerade at Somerset-
 “ House, where modest pleasure hides itself, before
 “ it will be touched, but though it is uncertain in
 “ the shape, 'tis real to the sense; for masks scorn to
 “ steal and not repay, therefore, as they conceal
 “ the face, they oft make the body the better
 “ known. At this end of the town many faded
 “ beauties bid the oleo's and the brush kiss their
 “ cheeks and lips, till their charms only glimmer
 “ with a borrowed grace; so that a city beauty, rich
 “ in her native spring of simplicity and loveliness,
 “ will doubly shine with us; shine like the innocent
 “ morning blush of light, that glitters untainted on
 “ the gardens.—

“ This was part of the letter; from the contents
 “ of the whole, I guess it must plant roses in her
 “ cheeks, if it made no impression on her heart.

“ But now we may view him visiting with a greater
 “ freedom : charming oaths, and gilded deceit form
 “ commonly the winning music that steals away
 “ a woman’s senses. Our captain played not off his
 “ rhetoric long ; for, as those sweet tales were the
 “ language of his heart, they were at length the soft-
 “ ners of her’s, although a young man, late ‘prentice
 “ to Mr. Maycock (a youth worth a thousand pounds)
 “ would fain have been blest in her. But she
 “ thought, I doubt not, that the Captain’s love was
 “ honourable, or would at last become so. Where-
 “ fore she the easier unbound her affections, and let
 “ them loose upon him.

“ Quitting her house in Southwark, where her late
 “ husband dwelt, joyous were their nights, and gay
 “ their days ; their love was attended by plays, music,
 “ feasting, and the like ; every hour was winged with
 “ pleasure, and the sentiments of their hearts sat
 “ smiling in their eyes.

“ Mr. Stanley’s mother, and all his relations, be-
 “ lieved Mrs. Maycock to be his wife. But a gen-
 “ tleman, who then lived at his father’s house by
 “ Soho, told his father, that he had such accounts
 “ from Mr. Stanley’s footman, as certified him that
 “ she was not his wife. He had three children by her,
 “ whereof one boy is three years and a half old, and
 “ now lives at the White-swan in Long-acre. It is
 “ a most beautiful child, of a lively apprehension, and
 “ forward vivacity : as it lay with its father, till he
 “ killed his mother, he had time to instruct it in witty
 “ ways. The other children are dead.

“ As long as Mrs. Maycock’s subsistence remained,
 “ she took great care of the offspring of her body :
 “ but, about a year ago, finding herself obliged to
 “ seek out for other ways to live, she entered into
 “ some new acquaintance.—The Captain insinuated,
 “ that Mrs. Maycock had been too intimate with Mr.
 “ B——t, who kept a shop in Newgate-street, but
 “ was

“ was buried about three weeks ago. He affirmed
 “ that she had a child, and was delivered in the same
 “ house where she was killed ; but we are not oblig-
 “ ed to credit all reports of that nature. What I
 “ best know is, that if she had been inclined to indulge
 “ herself in a gay variety, enough persons she might
 “ have had at her command, who had been for some
 “ years admirers of her wit and beauty.”—Thus far
 the Chaplain.

Stanley and Capt. Faulkner, having one night
 been drinking together, they parted in the street,
 and presently after Mr. Burdet, Mr. Winchurch,
 and another, meeting with Mr. Faulkner, a quar-
 rel arose between them, and he was killed. Stanley
 often reflected upon this, believing, that if he had
 been there at that time, he should certainly have been
 killed ; for he was so drunk, that he could not have
 made a tolerable defence. He said, he was very
 thankful to providence for this escape : that the cap-
 tain's death was hardly ever out of his mind ; and
 that he was so very serious for a long time after,
 that, though he went to a bawdy-house now and then,
 it was not so much for the desire he had to commit
 fornication, as to preach repentance ; for, while he
 was engaged with a woman, he would ask her, whi-
 ther she thought her lewdness would lead her to ?
 if she intended to die as she lived, and if she did
 not believe the consequence of vice, when youth and
 beauty had forsaken her, would be poverty, shame
 and misery ?—What converts he made by holding
 forth in this manner is uncertain.

He said too, that Maurice Fitzgerald was his par-
 ticular friend, that he was in company with him just
 before the watchman was killed in the Strand.
 “ Fitzgerald (says he) was then drunk, and I would
 “ have carried him home, but he was obstinate, and
 “ would not go with me. I told him however, that
 “ if he assaulted or affronted any woman, I myself
 “ would

“ would be the forwardest to give evidence against
 “ him—But, notwithstanding this warning, it was but
 “ a few minutes before he and his companions pulled
 “ a lady out of her chair, and killed one of the
 “ watchmen who came to her assistance : and it was
 “ for this reason, when Fitzgerald was in Newgate,
 “ though he often sent for me, I would never go
 “ near him, and not because I was afraid of going
 “ to Newgate ; for I had parted from him before
 “ the man was killed.”——Who would imagine
 that a man, who so highly resented an affront given
 to a woman, would be guilty of murdering his own
 whore ?

He gave an account of his being once attacked and
 robbed by foot pads in Hampstead road, as he was
 returning from Belfize ; and another time by high-
 waymen, as he was going into Gloucestershire, and
 upon drawing his sword, one of them shot, and
 narrowly missed him ; and, after that, they beat him
 in so violent a manner, that he was hardly able to
 stand.—“ And is it not hard now (says he) that I,
 “ whom no sword could dispatch, no gun could kill,
 “ and no storm could drown, must at last die like
 “ a dog in an ignoble halter ? that I, who have lived
 “ like a gentleman, been a companion for officers,
 “ and the favourite of the ladies, must die with street-
 “ robbers ?”

The unsettled and dissolute life he led was the
 cause of great uneasiness in his father, who now too
 late began to be sensible, that he had taken very im-
 prudent measures in his son's education, and, fear-
 ing some unhappy effects of his ill conduct at home,
 resolved, if possible, to send him abroad : and ac-
 cordingly procured him a commission to go Lieute-
 nant to Cape-Coast-Castle, in the service of the Royal
 African Company.

Young Stanley seemed well enough pleased with
 this, and his behaviour was such, as gave great hopes
 to

to his father. Every thing was now prepared for his voyage, and a considerable sum of money advanced by the company, and so he set forward, and soon arrived at Portsmouth; what made the prospect of this voyage the more agreeable to him was the company of Capt. Massey, who was to go with him.

But unhappily Mrs. Maycock, with her young child, followed him to Portsmouth. She reproached him with baseness, in first debauching her, and now leaving her and her child to starve; and employed all the arts she was mistress of to change his resolution. She succeeded according to her wishes; she prevailed with him to give her half the money that he had received from the company, and so follow her to London with the remainder. The news of his arrival here was a great surprize to all his friends; but his father was so shocked with the baseness of the action, that, in a short time, he died with grief.

The son's concern appeared very violent on this occasion, insomuch that some of his friends deposed at his trial, that they believed he was never after in his right senses. However that was, he grew very grave for a while, and vowed to forsake all his old acquaintance. And the better to perform this, he said, he went once more to Flanders, where he staid a considerable time; but, returning to England, he soon fell into his old courses.

It was not long after his return, before he stabbed Mr. Dawson, an attorney at law, whom he met one night in the fields near Hampstead; of this fact he gave the following account.

“ I had been drinking very hard (says he) and was
 “ going towards Hampstead with two tradesmen. In
 “ the fields we met Mr. Dawson, and five more
 “ gentlemen; a quarrel arising, I (as I had a good
 “ sword)

“ sword) interposed; thereupon a pistol was fired at
 “ me, I think it was by an Apothecary, who was
 “ with Dawson. The bullet passed through my coat
 “ and waistcoat, and grazed upon my skin. I have
 “ shewn the hole in my coat to several people, and
 “ I believe it may still be seen at my mother’s, at
 “ the Swan Tavern in Long-Acre. As I thought it
 “ was the Apothecary who had used me in this
 “ manner, my design was to have stabbed him; but
 “ he being a little man, Mr. Dawson interposed, and
 “ received my sword, which passed through the low-
 “ er part of his belly into his back-bone, and im-
 “ mediately laid him in blood: He was carried to
 “ the Halfway-House, where the Surgeon had him
 “ under care for about six weeks, and he fortunately
 “ recovered. As I happened to be known, some of-
 “ ficers had orders to arrest me for the cure, and
 “ they were in pursuit of me for a long time, but
 “ my sword saved me. I would not discover the two
 “ men who were with me in this adventure; for
 “ as I myself wounded the gentleman, it would be
 “ hard for them to be obliged to pay the Surgeon’s
 “ bill.

Another time he quarrelled with Capt. Chickley,
 at a cyder-cellar in Covent-Garden. Stanley challenged
 him to fight in a dark room: the challenge was ac-
 cepted, and they shut themselves in; but a Con-
 stable being sent for, he broke open the door, and,
 in all probability, saved Stanley’s life, for Chickley
 had much the advantage, he having received but
 two slight cuts, though he had given Stanley a dan-
 gerous wound in the breast, near the shoulder, the
 sword passing quite through his body.

Though Stanley took the greatest liberties him-
 self, yet, like other coxcombs, he thought, that when
 he had done a woman the honour of debauching
 her,

her, she was for ever obliged to be faithful to him, and admit of no other company. His vanity would not suffer him to see, that her yielding to him was the consequence of a lewd desire of variety; but he took it into his head, that it proceeded from something wonderfully charming in himself; so that he lost all patience, when such a woman presumed to receive other men.—And this it was that cost Mrs. Maycock her life.

He owned, that he was extreamly incensed against her, when he first heard that she kept other company; but denied, that he threatened to kill her about half a year before her death, tho' it had been sworn at his trial.

To this account let us add some passages relating to his behaviour in Newgate, and at Tyburn, extracted from the Ordinary's paper.

“ —He told a great many people, when first committed to Newgate, of his having intrigues with—
 “ gentlewomen—talking publickly of several vicious
 “ tricks by him played.—Such was his extream airyness and gay carriage.

“ He declared before several—that he would never
 “ die by a rope, offering, in his airy way, to lay
 “ wagers upon that matter. But afterwards, being
 “ convinced that there was no courage nor bravery
 “ in not being able to sustain misfortunes, but getting
 “ from under them, by robbing the creator of one
 “ of his creatures, he changed his intent, and said,
 “ he would die like a gentleman and a soldier, though
 “ in the manner of a dog: that his enemies should
 “ see he could appear with the same face at the
 “ time of his death, as during the time of his life.

“ At the same time he acknowledged, that he had
 “ fully designed to dispatch himself with a knife, and
 “ after that with a dose of opium, as an easier and
 “ surer way. But he added, that afterwards, when

“ he resolved to die as the law appointed, and to
 “ compensate for his offences with his blood, he had
 “ found a great quiet and satisfaction in his mind,
 “ declaring, that he was much more uneasy and un-
 “ happy before he was under misfortunes than after.
 “ For he said, that every time Mrs. Maycock’s name
 “ was mentioned in company a trembling seized his
 “ limbs, and cold sweats appeared in drops upon
 “ his forehead; which he thought was an omen of
 “ their being the destruction of each other.

“ He added, that what gave him still a greater re-
 “ flection, and more surmises was, a horse once
 “ throwing him under Tyburn, from which place he
 “ could by no means disengage himself, till his two
 “ friends advanced and assisted him, and the more;
 “ because soon after he had the same fate as he went
 “ under Newgate, much injuring his health by a fall
 “ there. He affirmed, that for two months after-
 “ wards, he constantly addressed himself to Heaven
 “ every morning, desiring his Creator to direct his
 “ steps, and to preserve him from dangers and mis-
 “ fortunes.—

“ He was very much shocked, when he heard that
 “ Mrs. Maycock’s life and death had broke her bro-
 “ ther Bryan’s heart, who died on Tower-hill; so that
 “ though at first his behaviour was light, and his
 “ expressions, that he did not fear dying by a rope,
 “ yet afterwards he grew very calm and serious, say-
 “ ing, he should die with delight, to satisfy blood with
 “ blood. He read the scriptures to Saunders and
 “ Harrington in the Condemned-hold: regularly he
 “ attended the chapel (absenting himself but twice) and
 “ read the psalms, and made the Responses with
 “ much care: yet he twice shewed the effects of
 “ his temper upon two persons, whom he absurdly
 “ fancied appeared there to triumph over him in
 “ his misfortunes. He said, he hoped Christ would
 “ receive his soul, because he had been so good a fa-
 “ ther

“ther to his dear child: upon which remembrance
 “he would even shed tears, and call the deceased
 “cruel, barbarous, &c.—He appearing to be very
 “tender and indulging to the boy, who lay with him
 “till his death.

“He desired he might receive the sacrament the
 “day he died, and the Sunday preceeding, at which
 “times he appeared altogether serious, grave and com-
 “posed, saying, he was easy in his mind, and was ready
 “to enter another world.

“ On the day of Execution.

“About nine of the clock they were carried up
 “to the chapel; John Stanley appeared composed
 “and serene, but, reading a sermon, on a sudden flew
 “out into a passion, and said, he was vexed on no
 “account, but because he had not fired the whole
 “house where Mrs. Maycock died.

“He was requested to lay aside those starts of sud-
 “den passion, if possible, and be in charity with all
 “the world; he then grew very calm, and called ear-
 “nestly upon God and Christ. He received the sa-
 “crament with the utmost devotion, and afterwards
 “said, he was perfectly easy at the thoughts of leaving
 “this world, which to him had been a life of anxiety,
 “and constant hurry and uneasiness.

“He was carried in a mourning coach to Ty-
 “burn.—Mr. Stanley arriving at the place of exe-
 “cution, turned pale when he was put into the cart,
 “and said to me, he was sick. He desired, that the
 “ropes which were round them [Harrington, Saun-
 “ders, and himself] and tied over the tree, might be
 “again untied, that they might kneel down while God
 “was worshipped, which was accordingly done. Dur-
 “ing the prayers, he was extremely earnest and fer-
 “vent; but a sickness at his stomach at times com-

“ ing upon him, he leaned his head, and desired me
 “ to support him with my hand.

“ Being asked, if he intended to say any thing to
 “ the people? he answered, No, his whole mind he
 “ had told me, which he supposed people would see;
 “ and he had nothing more to add. He then said,
 “ that as his friends had provided a hearse that stood
 “ near to bear away his body, he hoped no one
 “ would be so cruel as to deny his relations the gift
 “ of his dead limbs, that they might receive Chris-
 “ tian burial; unless he was promised that, he could
 “ not die in peace.

“ When the cap was put over his countenance,
 “ he was seen to shed tears: receiving the pity of all
 “ present, he easily resigned his breath.”

He was hanged at Tyburn, on the 23d of Decem-
 ber 1723, aged twenty-five years.

*The Trials of STEPHEN GARDENER, for a
 Burglary, and JOHN MARTIN for receiving
 stolen goods; with an account of the Life of
 GARDENER.*

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the
 month of January, 1723—4, *Stephen Gardener*
 and *John Martin*, of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch,
 were indicted;—Gardener for breaking and entering
 the house of Dorcas Roberts, and stealing a parcel of
 linen, value 25 l. in the night of the 6th of January;
 and Martin for receiving part thereof, knowing the same
 to have been stolen.

The prosecutrix deposed, that she made her doors
 and windows fast at night when she went to bed, and
 the

the next morning her window-shutters and the glass of the casement were broken, and the goods gone—she acquainted a friend with the affair, who found out the prisoners, and apprehended them.

The next evidence deposed, that Mrs. Roberts complaining to him of her loss, he made enquiry, and heard that Stephen Gardener had been sauntering about the house. He knew that Gardener had the character of a loose, idle fellow; and therefore, having a strong suspicion of him, made it his business to learn where he lodged, and going to his lodgings, found him in bed with a woman, with a shirt on his back worth a guinea and a half. This deponent told him he did not imagine he came honestly by such a shirt, and therefore suspected it was he who had broke open Mrs. Roberts's house; but he would own nothing, till, by searching between the bed and the mat, a sack was discovered, in which was all the linen Mrs. Roberts had lost, except the shirt on his back, and another shirt and two smocks.

This deponent asked him what he done with the shirt and two smocks, that were wanting, and he said he had given them to John Martin (the other prisoner) for a dram, and for permitting him to stay in his shop till the watch was broke up, lest he should be apprehended.—Hereupon this deponent secured Gardener, and went to Martin, who kept a little brandy-shed, where he found the linen wet, at the bottom of a basket, under some small-coal: Martin owned that he did not receive the linen from Gardener, for locking him up in the shop till the watch broke up.

This witness farther deposed, that when Gardener was carried before the justice, he pulled the shirt off his back, and delivered it to the prosecutrix, and confessed the fact, and signed his confession.

This

This confession was then produced and read in court.

By way of defence Gardener said, that he happened to be locked out of his lodging, and as he was going to seek for another, he found the linen in an alley, about four o'clock in the morning, and carried it to Martin's.

Martin, in his defence, said, that he did not receive the linen from Gardener, but that Gardener left it on a box, where it lay, and he (Martin) never meddled with it 'till the people came to enquire for it, and then he very readily delivered it.

Both the prisoners were found guilty, in consequence of which Gardener received sentence of death, and Martin was ordered to be transported for fourteen years.

An Account of Stephen Gardener.

STEPHEN Gardener was born in Moorfields.—

At about fourteen he was put apprentice to a Weaver, but had no strong inclinations to work. He had served but a little part of his time before he played some rogue's tricks in the neighbourhood, for which, being complained of, his master corrected him severely. Stephen, not liking such usage, and imagining he could easily shift for himself, ran away, and wandered about in an idle black-guard manner, till he was almost starved, and then necessity drove him home to his friends. They took him in, in hopes of seeing a reformation; but, finding he was not so easily to be reclaimed as they expected, and that all their good advice was thrown away upon him, they sent him to sea, in a corn vessel, that traded to France and Holland.

As he was not extreamly diligent, the sailors used him very roughly, which soon made him so weary of a sea-life, that, when he returned to England, he

he made great promises to his friends, that he would mend his manners, if they would but let him live in his own country.

Willing to try what good they could do with him, they put him to a Waterman. But no work would agree with Stephen, nor could he bear to be kept under the least restraint, and therefore he soon left this master, as he had left the former, and employed himself in playing at cards, dice and skettles, in and about Moorfields, at long as he had Two-pence in his pocket; but, when his cash was sunk below that sum, he would play at chuck-farthing with the boys, till he had either recruited his stock, or was quite broke. If he lost all, his next expedient was picking pockets, though in this he had but bad success.

His first attempt of this kind was in Guild-hall, while the state-lottery was drawing, where he took a wig out of a gentleman's pocket. The gentleman perceived what he was at, but seemed to take no notice till the wig was quite drawn out, and then he seized my young diver, and cried out, "A pick-pocket!" Stephen immediately dropped the wig, and made a thousand protestations of his innocence. Vehement protestations are none of the least signs of guilt; but there being some credulous persons present, they took his part, and persuaded the gentleman to let him go.

This escape encouraged him to venture further; but in about a month he was taken again in a fact of the same kind: the gentleman, not caring for the trouble of prosecuting, delivered him over to the mob, who handled him so severely, that he often fell upon his knees, and, with tears in his eyes, begged them to carry him before a magistrate, and let him suffer the law.

This treatment made him forswear picking pockets: but some time after, he became acquainted with a couple of house-breakers, Garraway and Sly. They offered

offered to take him in for a partner in their way of business; but, (as he said) he rejected the proposal, till one night he lost all his money, and most of his cloaths, in playing at cards at an ale-house in Moorfields, and then he went to his new companions, who were glad to see him.—“Now,” says Garraway, “the first thing we’ll go upon, shall be to rob my brother.” This was presently agreed to, and so away they went, and broke open the house; but they got little besides his brother’s and sister’s cloaths, which they sold for a trifle, and soon spent the money.

Garraway then proposed to rob his uncle, who had a considerable quantity of plate in his house. This, like the former, was quickly resolved on, and executed. The plate they stole was carried to Nan Gill, who sold it, and sunk all the money. Gardener was so provoked at being thus *bit* out of his share of what he had ventured his life for, that he surrendered himself to Jonathan Wild, and informed against Garraway, Sly, and Gill, and they were all three taken.

The two men were tried and convicted of felony. Nan Gill was in custody at the same time, but it seems there was a good understanding betwixt her and Jonathan: for, by his management, she was not brought to a trial, till the next sessions, which was in July, and then the evidence having been set at liberty, was not to be found, and she was acquitted.

Near half a year before Gardener engaged with the two house-breakers, he happened to fall into company with a woman upwards of forty years old, at an ale-house in Fleet-lane. She shewed him a considerable sum of money, upon which he presently proposed matrimony to her, and she as readily consented. A spiritual flesh-joiner was immediately sent for, and so they were tacked together.

Stephen

Stephen now fancied that he had made his fortune, though at the same time several of his neighbours prophesied that he would die at Tyburn, and indeed he was quickly in a fair way of fulfilling their prediction. For he and his wife were both taken up by their landlord, on suspicion of felony, and carried by a constable to St. Sepulchre's watch-house. The landlord could not directly charge them with stealing any thing; but was in hopes, by this means, to bring them to a confession, though he found himself mistaken; for they would confess nothing, and therefore the constable dismissed them: but, as Gardener was going away, the constable said to him, "Beware how you come here again, or this Bell-man will certainly say his verses over ye."—The Bell-man was then in the watch-house.

It has long been a custom for the Bell-man of St. Sepulchre's parish (on the night before the prisoners are to be executed) to come under Newgate and ring his bell, and repeat the following verses to the criminals in the Condemned-hold.

All you that in the Condemn'd-hold do lie,
 Prepare you, for to-morrow you shall die.
 Watch all and pray, the hour is drawing near,
 That you before th' Almighty must appear.
 Examine well yourselves, in time repent,
 That you may not t' eternal flames be sent:
 And when St. 'Pulchre's bell to morrow tolls,
 The Lord above have mercy on your souls!
 Past twelve o'clock!

This exhortation ought to be spoken by a parson, as appears by the following passage extracted from Stow's Survey, Edit. 1618, in quarto, page 195.

"Robert Doue, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor, of
 "London,—gaue to the parish church of St.
 No. 13. Vol. II. L "Sepulchres,

“ Sepulchres, the summe of 50 l. That after the se-
 “ ueral sessions of London, when the prisoners re-
 “ maine in the goale, as condemned men to death,
 “ expecting execution on the morrow following: the
 “ clarke (that is, the parson) of the church shoold
 “ come in the night-time, and likewise early in the
 “ morning, to the window of the prison where they
 “ lye, and there ringing certain toles with a hand-
 “ bel, appointed for the purpose, he doth afterward
 “ (in most Christian manner) put them in mind of
 “ their present condition, and ensuing execution, de-
 “ firing them to be prepared therefore as they ought
 “ to be. When they are in the cart, and brought
 “ before the wal of the church, there he standeth
 “ ready with the same bel, and after certain toles
 “ rehearseth an appointed praier, desiring all the peo-
 “ ple there present to pray for them. The beadle
 “ also of Merchant-Taylors-Hal hath an honest allow-
 “ ed stipend, to see that this is duely done.”

Gardener declared, that when the constable told
 him the bell-man would say his verses over him, it
 struck him to the heart; but yet he had not the reso-
 lution to mend his manners.

Soon after the constable had dismissed him, he met
 with one Rice Jones, with whom he travelled on horse-
 back into Wales. They went upon what they call
The passing-lay; that is, one of them takes a country-
 man into an alehouse, under pretence of any busi-
 ness they can think of; then the other comes in as
 a stranger, and in a little time finds a pack of cards,
 which his companion had designedly laid upon some
 shelf in the room, and so the two sharpers begin to
 play. At last one of them offers to lay a great wager
 on the game, and stakes the money down; the other
 shews his cards to the countryman, and convinces
 him that he must certainly win, and offers to let him
 go halves in the wager: but soon after the countryman
 has

has laid down his money, the sharpers manage the matters so as to *pass off* with it.

In this practice they were very successful. They staid some time at Bristol, and there Jones procured a gold watch and chain, a suit of laced cloaths, and about a hundred guineas, in a manner unknown to Gardener; for there had been some quarrel betwixt them, and Jones had struck him upon the road with a hedge stake: and now it came into Gardener's head that he might at once revenge himself, and make his fortune, if he could but find an opportunity of murdering Jones.

Therefore, dissembling his resentment, and taking no exceptions at any thing that Jones did, they appeared to be good friends again, and continued their journey to Bath, where they staid several days, and then resolved to go forward; but, in the morning before they set out, Gardener stole an iron pestle at the inn where they lay, and put it into his boot, with a design to dash out his companion's brains, when they came into some wood, or other bye place.

As they rode along, he mostly kept behind the other, and twice took out the pestle to execute his design, but his heart still failed him; for he was afraid, if he missed his blow, he should be killed himself by Jones, who was an over-match for him; and so he put the pestle in again, but did not entirely give over his purpose; for, when they came to their inn at night, he laid it by privately, and took it with him again next morning. As he rode along, it fell out of his boot, he dismounted, and took it up unperceived by Jones; but in a little time it fell out again, and he was now so fearful he would take notice of it, and discover his design, that he did not offer to take it up a second time; but laid aside all thoughts of the murder, and in two or three days took an opportunity of parting. As he was going away, Jones called to him, "Hark ye, Gardener,

“ whither are you going ? ” “ to London,” says Gardener. “ Why then,” replied Jones, “ you’re going “ to be hanged.”

This was the third prophesy of Gardener’s coming to the gallows ; but, however, he was resolved to venture, and his first fact, after parting with Jones, was upon a little lone house between Abergavenny and Monmouth. The windows were reshut up ; he knocked at the door several times, to see if any body was at home : but hearing no answer, he broke the shutter, and wrenched open the casement, and so went in. He found a large quantity of cloaths, and some writings in a box, but no money ; and being unwilling to load his horse with a large bundle, for fear of being discovered, he took only one gown, and so rode forward for London.

Soon after his arrival, he met with Garraway and Sly, as we have seen already, and, in two or three weeks after their conviction, he was discharged out of Newgate ; but would not take warning by their punishment. For in a few days, having a small acquaintance at a house on Addle-hill, he slipped into the entry in the dusk of the evening, and going softly up to the garret, twisted off a padlock, and took a suit of cloaths, which he carried away undiscovered.

His next fact was that for which he received sentence of death.

Of his behaviour under condemnation, the Ordinary gives the following account.

“ This unfortunate young man was remarkably ob-
 “ servant of his duty ; he was never easy, nor let
 “ others be so, but when they were reading or pray-
 “ ing. He was commonly bewailing his sad condi-
 “ tion, especially when his friends and acquaintance
 “ went to see him. He employed himself in perusing
 “ the

“ the psalms, particularly the 51st. The morning
 “ he died, he, with many tears, received the sacra-
 “ ment, and resigned himself up to the Will of Pro-
 “ vidence.——

“ When he arrived at the place, where he was to
 “ atone with his blood for his faults, he appeared
 “ very devout, in the most ardent manner calling
 “ upon God and Christ. Before he went, he was
 “ desired by some of his acquaintance to put some-
 “ thing upon his body, besides the thin covering
 “ of his shroud, in order to fence against the extreme
 “ cold, which might perhaps so injure his body, as
 “ to prevent the fervency of his prayers, and draw
 “ off his thoughts from Heaven.

“ To that he replied, that as he had endured the
 “ cold on Sunday and the Sunday night, he was re-
 “ solved not to put cloathing on his body during
 “ the time he should continue in this world; for, he
 “ thought that he could not too much punish and
 “ afflict himself for the crimes he had committed:
 “ he was of opinion, that there must be an atone-
 “ ment for vice, either in this world or the next.

“ When he was at the place of execution, he
 “ spoke to the people, to assure them, that though
 “ some malicious people had been pleased to accuse
 “ his father and mother, as if they knew of his
 “ robbing the laundress (Dorcas Roberts) he declared,
 “ as a dying man, that they were wholly ignorant
 “ of it, nor did they own the bag that the linen was
 “ put into: he then spoke to some of his compani-
 “ ons, whom he saw there present, desiring them
 “ to take warning by his calamitous fate, and to fly
 “ from vicious company, and return to a sober life,
 “ which was the only way to be happy in this world,
 “ as well as in the next.”

He was hanged at Tyburn, on Monday, the 3d. of
 February 1723-4.

*The Trials of FRANCIS BRIGHTWELL, and
BENJAMIN BRIGHTWELL, for a Highway
Robbery.*

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the month of August 1724, *Francis Brightwell*, and *Benjamin Brightwell* were indicted for assaulting John Pargiter on the highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him three shillings, on the 20th of July, 1724.

The prosecutor deposed, that having been at London, he was going home to Hampstead, and between Fig-lane and the Half-way-house, got off his horse to make water, which having done, and the horse going on before, he was walking after him, when the prisoner Francis met him, and passed him six or seven yards; that Benjamin, the other prisoner, came up, knocked him down into a ditch, demanded his money, and asked him if all his money was in one pocket, and on his answering in the affirmative, he took it out; that then he lifted him up, and gave him his wig, which had fallen off his head when he was knocked down.

The prosecutor farther said, that the other prisoner, Francis, neither said nor did any thing, but halted and stood still at a little distance, while Benjamin robbed him: and after that they went away together, and he followed his horse and went home.

On the Saturday following he went to London again, and on his return, with some farmers, he shewed them the place where he had been robbed,
and

and described the persons who did it. Riding a little farther, he saw the two prisoners on the road, on which he told the farmers that those were the men, and had on the same cloaths as when they robbed him; whereupon they apprehended them, carried them to an alehouse, and charged them with the fact: they were under a great surprize, and neither owned nor denied it, though Francis pretended that he was upon guard at the time the robbery was committed, but he prevaricated in his account, and a cross-bow * was taken from under his coat.

This was the substance of the prosecutor's evidence; and two other witnesses confirmed the manner of apprehending the prisoners.

Benjamin Brightwell, in his defence, said that he was at home at the time of this robbery; and Francis said that he was upon guard.

Several witnesses appeared in behalf of the prisoners, the first of whom was Ann Miller, who deposed, that the evening this robbery was committed, at three quarters past nine at night, she saw Benjamin Brightwell in Brewhouse yard; that he had worked at home till half an hour past nine, and was going to lie at Mr. Lomax's house.

John Barber deposed, that on the 20th of July last, he was at Benjamin Brightwell's house, from three in the afternoon till half an hour past eight at night.

Mary Gibson deposed, that the prosecutor came to her house, and told her he was fuddled at the time he was robbed.

John Beaver deposed, that he heard the prosecutor say he was much in liquor when he was robbed.

Susan Taylor deposed, that she saw Benjamin Brightwell at her stable door between nine and ten

* This cross-bow was produced in court.

at night, talked to him there, and heard him say that he was going to lie at Mr. Lomax's-house.

Several witnesses gave Benjamin the character of a very honest man.

William Hughs, a clergyman, deposed, that he had known Francis Brightwell near twenty years: that he was always reputed to be a person of the fairest character for sobriety, probity and justice: that he was to an extraordinary degree accomplished with Latin and Greek Literature, and had good skill in Roman Antiquities; that, in short, he carried so large a share of exquisite learning under his grenadier's cap, that perhaps there was not such another grenadier in the universe.

Several Colonels, Majors, Captains, and other military officers, confirmed the evidence of Mr. Hughs.

The prisoner's (Francis Brightwell's) serjeant, and divers other soldiers, deposed, that he was on guard, on the 20th of July last, from about a quarter past nine o'clock till eleven.

The jury acquitted the prisoners; and it afterwards appeared that they were innocent; for this very robbery was committed by Sheppard and Blue-skin, as we shall see by and by in the accounts of their lives.

Francis Brightwell died at his quarters at Paddington, on Sunday the 22d of August, 1724. He was attended, during his short illness, by Sir Hans Sloan, one of his Majesty's physicians.

The following is extracted from the British Journal, of September 5, 1724.

S I R,

Finding that all our public papers (from the fourth of August, to this day) have omitted to make honourable mention of some very remarkable circum-

circumstances relating to a very private person, I desire his memory may be deposited in your journal. The person I mean is Francis Brightwell, the grenadier, who was tried and acquitted at the Old Bailey, for a robbery sworn against him; and who, since his coming out of prison, died, as 'tis said, of the goal distemper.

When evidence was given against him in court, Brightwell, by several witnesses, proved that he was upon the King's guard at Kensington, at the time the robbery (if a robbery) was committed. Hereupon the court went into an enquiry concerning the reputation and character of the prisoner. Some officers, who had known him long in the service, gave testimony as to his sobriety and diligence in the duty of a soldier. As to his honesty, a lady (present in court) declared, that she had entrusted him with a thousand pounds at a time; and a gentleman, that he had committed his house and goods, to the value of six thousand pounds, to his keeping: in both which trusts Brightwell had acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the parties concerned.

These ample testimonies, concurring to the honour of a man in so low a condition of life, gave (you may imagine) no small surprize to all that were present; when a clergyman added to their astonishment, by declaring, that he had long known the prisoner to be not only a person of sobriety, but likewise of very excellent learning, and particularly skilled in Latin and Greek: for, that Brightwell had often consulted him upon difficult passages in Virgil and Homer.

Thus much for what appeared at the trial of this grenadier. I shall only remark upon his learning, that I am amazed scholarship is not very common among the military men, considering their profession admits of more leisure hours than any other. Per-

haps these gentlemen are afraid of knowledge, from a celebrated maxim delivered by John Dryden,

“ The learned all are cowards by profession : ”

And yet Alexander and Cæsar were scholars ; and they did not seem to want courage.

But, to pursue what further particulars I have learned of this deceased grenadier. He was contented in his station, studious of leisure, and ambitious only of knowledge. He had offers of being promoted to the rank of corporal, or of serjeant ; which he declined, that he might have as few avocations as possible from his studies. Neither did he covet money ; and, I am apt to believe, had he been at the sacking of a town, he would not have thought of carrying off any other plunder, but a valuable book or two. Take the following instance of his disregard of gain. He had an excellent manner of cleaning and furbishing arms, for which he had his settled prices. An officer, whose arms he had brightened, was so well pleased with his work, that he sent Brightwell (over and above the usual price) a guinea for a present. The philosopher took his price, and returned the guinea by the servant. Some time after, when the gentleman saw him ; “ Why,” said he to Brightwell, “ would you not accept of the guinea I sent you ? ” — “ I am paid for my work,” replied the centinel, “ and desire no more.” — “ Accept of a crown then, if your modesty makes you think a guinea too much,” said the officer. — “ Excuse me, Sir,” answered the veteran, “ and do not think it vanity or affectation, when I refuse your kindness ; but indeed, Sir, I don’t want it : but I am thirsty, and have no money about me ; so that if your honour will be pleased to give me three-pence to drink your health, I shall thankfully accept of it.”

This

This last particular of our grenadier runs so very parallel with a story in Sir William Temple's observations of the United Provinces, that we think it proper to transcribe it on this occasion, for the entertainment of our readers. Vol. I. Page 50."

" Among the many and various hospitals that are in
 " every man's curiosity and talk, that travels Holland,
 " I was affected with none more than that of the
 " aged seamen at Enchusyen, which is contrived, fi-
 " nished, and ordered, as if it were done with a kind
 " intention of some well-natured man, that those, who
 " had passed their whole lives in the hardships and
 " incommodities of the sea, should find a retreat,
 " stored with all the ease and conveniency that old age
 " is capable of feeling and enjoying. And here I met
 " with the only rich man that I ever saw in my life :
 " For one of these old seamen, entertaining me a good
 " while with the plain stories of his fifty years voyages
 " and adventures, while I was viewing this hospital,
 " and the church adjoining, I gave him at parting a
 " piece of their coin, about the value of a crown : he
 " took it smiling, and offered it me again ; but, when
 " I refused it, he asked me what he should do with the
 " money ? I left him to overcome his modesty as he
 " could ; but a servant coming after me, saw him
 " give it to a little girl, that opened the church door,
 " as she passed by him : which made me reflect upon
 " the fantastic calculation of riches and poverty, that
 " is current in the world, by which a man that wants
 " a million is a prince, he that wants but a groat is
 " a beggar, and this was *a poor man that wanted no-*
 " *thing at all.*"

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant.

*The Trial of JOHN SHEPPARD for Burglaries ;
with a particular Account of his Life and
Explicits.*

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the month of August 1724, *John Sheppard*, of St. Martin's in the Fields, was indicted for breaking and entering the house of William Philips, and stealing divers goods, in the night of the 20th of February, 1723—4: but the evidence not being sufficient to convict him, he was acquitted.

He was indicted a second time for breaking and entering the house of Mary Cook, in the parish of St. Clements Danes, on the 5th of February, 1723—4, and stealing divers goods; but he was again acquitted, for want of sufficient evidence.

He was indicted a third time for breaking and entering the house of William Kneebone, in the parish of St. Mary, Savoy, and stealing 108 yards of woollen cloth, two silver spoons, and other goods, in the night of the 12th of June, 1724.

The prosecutor deposed, that the prisoner had been his servant before the time of the robbery:—That about eleven o'clock on the night of the 12th of June, he saw all his doors and windows made fast, and then went to bed: he was called up about four in the morning, and found his house broke open; the bar of his cellar-window was cut, the bolts of the cellar-door drawn, and the padlock wrenched off; the shutter in the shop was broke, and 108 yards of woollen cloth, two silver spoons, and other things were taken away.

Hereupon

Hereupon Mr. Kneebone suspected the prisoner, because he had lately committed some ill actions in the neighbourhood ; and acquainting Jonathan Wild with the affair, the prisoner was apprehended through his means and committed to New-Prison, where the prosecutor went to visit him, and asked him how he could be so ungrateful as to rob him after he had shewn him so much kindness ; he owned the had been very ungrateful in so doing, but said he had been drawn into it by ill company ; and then gave a particular description of the manner of his breaking into the house.

Jonathan Wild deposed, that the prosecutor came and told him that his house had been broke open, and robbed of a great quantity of woollen cloth ; and that he suspected the prisoner was concerned in the fact, because he had committed several robberies in the neighbourhood, and desired this deponent to enquire after the goods.

Wild, knowing that the prisoner was acquainted with Joseph Blake, alias Blueskin, and William Field, sent for Field, and told him if he would make an ingenuous confession, he believed he could prevail with the court to admit him an evidence.

Hereupon Field discovered Sheppard, and gave an account how some of the stolen cloth was disposed of ; by which means part of the cloth was found, and the prisoner was apprehended.

William Field deposed, that the prisoner told him and Blueskin that he knew of a ken worth milling,* for there was something good to be got in it ; and so he conducted them to take a view of the prosecutor's house. Blueskin and this evidence disapproved of the design, because they did not think it could easily be done : but the prisoner told them it might be done with all the pleasure in life, for he had lived with Mr. Kneebone, was acquainted with every part of the house ; and would undertake it himself, if

* A house worth breaking.

they would keep their station, and give a good look-out. To this they agreed; whereupon Sheppard cut the bar of the cellar and window, and getting into the shop, brought out three parcels of cloth, which they carried off.

It appeared by the deposition of other witnesses, that when the prisoner was apprehended and carried before the justice, he confessed the fact.

The jury, having heard the evidence, found him guilty, in consequence of which he received sentence of death.

Particulars of the Life of John Sheppard.

JOHN Sheppard was born in Spittal-fields, in the year 1702. His father was a Carpenter, and had the character of a very honest, industrious man, though his two sons, Thomas the eldest, and this John both turned out thieves.

They were but children when the father died. A lady took Tom to be her foot-boy, and afterwards put him out apprentice to a Carpenter.

As to Jack, his mother endeavoured to place him in the Bluecoat Hospital, but, failing in that, she put him to school to one Mr. Garret within Bishopsgate: here he continued near two years, in which time having learned to read pretty well, and to write a legible hand, he was then put out apprentice to a Cane-chair-maker, in Houndsditch. He had been in this place but a little time before his master died, and Jack was then put to another man of the same trade; but this master used him so ill, that he staid with him but a very little while.

Mr. Kneebone, a Woollen-draper in the Strand, having had some acquaintance with old Sheppard, took Jack under his care, 'till he could provide another master for him. This gentleman was very kind to him, took a great deal of pains to improve him in writing

writing and accompts, and at last put him apprentice to Owen Wood, a Carpenter, in Wych-street, near Drury-lane.

In this place Sheppard behaved pretty well for about four years; but then, by frequenting the Black-lion alehouse in Drury-lane, which was kept by one Joseph Hind, a Button-mould-maker, and was a place of rendezvous for the vilest of wretches, he became acquainted with Eliz. Lion, alias Edgworth Bess, a common prostitute, and grew so fond of her company, that he stuck at nothing to provide money for her extravagances. But he was afterwards intimate with several others of the same profession, among whom (next to Lion) one Maggot was the principal.

He begun his felonies by stealing what he could, at the houses where he went to work.

The first of these was at the Rummer-Tavern by Charing-cross, where he stole two silver-spoons.

The next, about the end of July, 1723, at the house of Mr. Bains, a piece-broker in White-horse-yard, from whence he carried off a piece of fustian.

About twelve at night, on the first of August he went to the same house, took the bars out of the cellar-window, and so entered and stole goods and money to the value of 22 l. which he carried to Maggot, by whose persuasions he undertook this robbery.

He did not go home that night, nor next day. The fustian he had stolen was not missed; but, having put it in his trunk, his fellow 'prentice happened to see it the day after the last fact, and acquainted his master with it.

Sheppard hearing of this, broke open his master's house at night, and carried off the fustian again, for fear it should be brought in evidence against him. His master sent word to Mr. Bains of what had happened. Mr. Bains then looking over his

his goods, and missing such a piece of fustian as was described to him, began to suspect that the same person had broke open his house, and resolved to have Sheppard taken up.

Sheppard, having intelligence of this design, went to him, and threatened to sue him for scandal; but, finding his menaces had no effect, he owned he had a piece of fustian; but said, his mother bought it for him in Spittal-fields. His mother was sent for, and, to skreen her son, confirmed what he said, though she could not find the shop where it was bought. Mr. Bains however proceeded no farther in the affair.

Sheppard keeping ill company, neglecting his business, and lying out on nights, occasioned frequent quarrels betwixt him and his master: and now being entered into the last year of his apprenticeship, and resolving to follow his own inclinations without controul, he left his master entirely, and fell in with Joseph Blake, alias Blueskin, Will. Field, — Doling, James Sikes, alias Hell and Fury, and other notorious villains.

In October, 1723, Sheppard took a lodging in the house of Mr. Charles, in May-Fair, at the end of Piccadilly. Mr. Charles had employed Mr. Panton, a master Carpenter, to repair his house, and Panton employed Sheppard as a journeyman; but, before the jobb was finished, Jack moved off with five silver spoons, four silver tea-spoons, a silver fork, six plain gold rings, and one set with a stone, four suits of apparel, 7 l. 10 s. in money, and a considerable quantity of linen.

Not long after this Bess Lion was carried to St. Giles's Round-house; Jack went to see her, but the beadle refusing to let him in, he broke open the door, beat the beadle, and carried off Bess in triumph; and by this action acquired a reputation among
the

the punks of Drury-lane, beyond any of his contemporary scoundrels.

In the month of August, 1723, his brother, Thomas Sheppard, was indicted for stealing two saws, the goods of Edward Price, and two saws, and other Carpenter's tools, the goods of John Westerman, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, on the 22d of July, 1723.

He was a second time indicted for stealing a saw, the property of John Gardener, in Chelsea, on the first of August, 1723. The jury found him guilty of both indictments to the value of 10 d. each, and he was burnt in the hand.

Soon after he was discharged from Newgate, he prevailed with his brother Jack to lend him 40 s. and take him in as a partner in his robberies. The first fact they committed together was the breaking open an alehouse in Southwark, from whence they took some money and apparel; but Jack was so generous a partner, as to let him take the whole profit of this adventure.—Will. Field purchased the cloaths.

In Feb. 1723-4, the two brothers and Edgworth Bess broke open the house of Mrs. Cook, a Linnen-draper, in Clare-Market, and carried off goods to the value of 55 l.

Within a fortnight after this they broke open the house of Mr. Phillips, in Drury-lane, and stole some goods of no great value, the property of Mrs. Kendrick.

A considerable time after the first of these burglaries, Tom Sheppard, offering some of Mrs. Cook's goods to sale, was apprehended, and committed to Newgate; and, in hopes of being admitted an evidence, impeached his brother Jack, and Edgworth Bess, upon which a strict search was made after them, but to no purpose, till at last James Sikes, alias Hell and Fury, meeting accidentally with Jack, in St. Giles's, invited him to drink at one Mr. Redgate's,

an alehouse near the Seven Dials, and, while they were there, Sikes found means to send for a constable. Jack was taken, and carried before Justice Perry, who committed him to St. Giles's Round-house; but, before the next morning, he broke out through the roof, and made his escape.

One evening in May, 1723, as he, and J. Benson were going over Leicester-fields, Benson attempted to pick a gentleman's pocket of a watch, but failing in his enterprize, and the gentleman calling out, Pick-pockets, they both took to their heels; Benson got off, but Jack was taken and sent to St. Ann's Round-house. Bess Lion coming to see him there, she was detained too, on suspicion of being a confederate.

On the next morning they were carried before Justice Walters, where Mrs. Cook and Mr. Phillips charged them with the two felonies mentioned above, upon which they were committed to New-Prison; and, as they generally passed for husband and wife, they were both confined in one room, called Newgate-Ward.

As Sheppard had the privilege of having his friends come to visit him, they privately furnished him with implements for setting himself and Bess at liberty.

Early in the morning, on Whitfun-Monday, the 25th of May, having filed off his fetters, he made a breach in the wall, took an iron bar and a large wooden one out of the window; then having twenty five feet to descend, he tied a blanket and a sheet together, and, fixing one of them to a remaining bar in the window, Bess ventured down first, and he followed. They were now got into the yard, and still had a wall of twenty-two feet high to scale; but climbing up by the locks and bolts of the great gate, they got over, and made their escape.

Jack

Jack was now become so eminent, that there was not a blackguard in St. Giles's but thought it an honour, as well as an advantage, to be admitted into his company. Among these was Charles Grace, a Cooper, who begged of Jack to take him for an assistant in his robberies, because he had got such an extravagant whore to maintain, that all he could steal with his own hands was too little for her. Jack was easily persuaded, though not (as he said) because he wanted Grace, but because Grace wanted him.

These two consulting with Anthony Lamb, an apprentice to Mr. Carter, a Mathematical Instrument-maker, near St. Clement's Church, they agreed to rob Mr. Barton, who lodged in Mr. Carter's house : and accordingly, about two in the morning, Lamb let them both in, and they conveyed away a considerable sum of money and goods to a great value ; but Lamb staid in the house, and leaving the door open, went to bed to avoid suspicion. But, notwithstanding this, he was suspected, and, upon a short examination, confessed the whole affair, and was thereupon committed to Newgate.

In July, 1724.

Anthony Lamb, of St. Clement's Danes, was indicted for breaking and entering the house of Henry Carter, and stealing money, wearing apparel, and other goods, the property of William Barton, and others, in the night of the 16th of July.

The jury acquitted him of the burglary, and found him guilty of the felony only, to the value of 39 s. Transportation.

The same Day.

Thomas Sheppard, of St. Clement's Danes, was indicted (with John Sheppard, not then taken) for

breaking and entering the house of Mary Cook, and stealing her goods, on the fifth of February 1723-4, in the night. The jury found him guilty of felony, to the value of 39 s. Transportation.

On the 19th of July, Jack Sheppard and Blueskin stopped a coach in Hampstead road, and robbed a lady's woman of half a crown.

The next day, between Fig-lane and the Hampstead half-way-house, they robbed John Pargiter, an Attorney, and for this Francis Brightwell, and his brother Benjamin were tried; and, though Pargiter swore positively against them, they were honourably acquitted, as we have seen in the trial above. When Jack told the story of this robbery, "Little I," says he, "was the great, lusty fellow that pulled Pargiter out of the ditch —— but the man had got a drop in his eye, and that dimmed his sight."

When Jack Sheppard, his brother Tom, Blueskin, Grace, or Hell and Fury, had committed any felony, they commonly disposed of their goods to Will. Field, who sometimes lodged at Blueskin's mother's, in Rosemary-lane. Jack often said, that Field wanted courage to venture on a robbery, tho' he was as great a villain as lived.

Perhaps Field began to think it more profitable, and less hazardous to receive than to steal; though if courage consists in daring to commit felonies (as Jack seems to think) there is no doubt but Field might put in his claim: for, in October, 1721, he was tried on four indictments for felony and burglary, and was an accomplice in several others. He was likewise, in September, 1720, an evidence against James Wilson, and John Homer, alias Holmar, for robbing George Herbert, on the highway, of 11 l. and, in July, 1725, was convicted of receiving goods stolen by persons unknown, for which he was fined and imprisoned.

Sheppard

Sheppard and Blueskin, in order to keep their goods together, till they could dispose of them to the best advantage, hired a stable near the Horse-Ferry, in Westminster, for a warehouse. Here, among their other effects, they put the woollen cloth they stole from Mr. Kneebone, who had been so kind a friend to Jack. The goods being lodged, they acquainted Field with it, and carried him down to see them, expecting he would take them off their hands; and so he did, but without paying a farthing; for at night, he broke open their warehouse, and stole all their merchandize, and afterwards betrayed Jack to Jonathan Wild.

Nor was this all; but, to make sure work of it, Field swore that he himself was an accomplice with Sheppard and Blake, in breaking open Mr. Kneebone's house. Jack often declared that Field knew nothing of the matter, till the day after this was done, "And then," says Jack, "I told him all the particulars of the story, never dreaming the rascal would make such an ill use of the confidence I put in him."

On Monday morning, August the 30th, the warrant came down to Newgate, for the execution of Joseph Ward for robbery, Anthony Upton, for burglary, and John Sheppard.

A little within the lodge at Newgate, there is, on the left hand, a hatch, with large iron spikes; this opens into a dark passage, from whence there are a few steps into the Condemned Hold. The prisoners are permitted to come down to this hatch to speak with their friends. Sheppard, being provided with implements, found means to cut one of the spikes in such a manner, that it would easily break off. In the evening two women of his acquaintance coming to see him, he broke off the spike, and, thrusting his head and shoulders through the space, the women pulled him down, and so he made his escape

escape undiscovered, though some of the keepers were at the same time drinking at the farther end of the lodge.

Hear how Mr. Wagstaff, (the Ordinary's journeyman) declaims on this occasion, after he has given an account of the behaviour of Joseph Ward, and Anthony Upton.

“ John Sheppard, a notorious thief, and house-
 “ breaker, (whose life should have been inserted in
 “ this paper, had he not made his narrow escape from
 “ death on Monday last, about six in the evening)
 “ we think it may not be improper, but of service
 “ to the public, to remind them that he is got loose
 “ from his chains, by an almost impracticable, and
 “ unheard of contrivance and invention; and, who
 “ has often said, that there was neither lock nor key
 “ ever made, that he should make any difficulty to
 “ open. (for he could open keys as well as locks)
 “ Him! (whom well guarded and strong prisons cannot contain, and, who is now upon his wicked and
 “ bloody ramble in the world) we hope the public
 “ will contribute the utmost to defend themselves
 “ against; especially such, upon whom he has vowed a bloody revenge. Had the intention of his
 “ procuring his liberty after the manner he did,
 “ been the reformation of his life, it had not been
 “ culpable in him; but, when we have too true assurances, even from his own mouth and pen, of the
 “ reverse of it; when he has been heard to say, that,
 “ if ever good fortune should set his heels at liberty, he would so effectually make clean work of his
 “ facts, that there should not one remain an evidence
 “ to swear against him; that he would encrease the
 “ number, as well as heighten the quality of his
 “ crimes: that these, and no less wicked and cruel
 “ were the designs and intentions of this inhuman,
 “ barbarous thief, and house-breaker: when his country is thus threatened by him, we hope, it will not
 “ be

Engraved for the Tyburn Chronicle.



Jack Shephard in the Stone Room in Newgate

“ be wanting, in its own preservation, in doing
 “ what it can to detect him; that so mankind may be
 “ rid of this enemy, the innocent cleared, and the
 “ offender punished.”

The next day after his escape, Sheppard went to an alehouse in Spittal-fields, and sent for a trusty comrade of his, one Will Page, a Butcher in Clare-Market. After a short consultation of what was best to be done in the present exigence, they agreed to go down to Warnden in Northamptonshire, where Page had some relations. They went accordingly; but, meeting with a cold reception, they returned to London in about a week's time.

On the 8th of Sept. between eight and nine at night, as they were going along Fleet-street, they passed by the door of Mr. Martin, a Watch-maker, and, seeing none but a boy in the shop, they turned back, and Sheppard dashing his hand through the sash-window, snatched away three watches.

They were no sooner informed that a strict enquiry was made after them, than they thought it not safe to stay in London, and therefore they retired to Finchly, in hopes of remaining concealed there, till the heat of the search was over; but the keepers of Newgate, having intelligence of this, pursued them thither, and took them.

Sheppard was again brought to Newgate, and, for better security, was lodged in a strong room called the Castle, where he was hand-cuffed, loaded with a heavy pair of irons, and chained to a staple in the floor. His escape had made such a noise, that, now he was retaken, curiosity daily brought crowds of people to see him, and he so diverted them with recounting his rogueries, that few of them went away without giving him a little money. A file, a chissel, or a hammer, would have been much more acceptable; but, his visitors were so narrowly watched, that there was no opportunity of helping him to any
 such

such implements. His thoughts however were employed in projecting a second escape from Newgate.

The sessions began at the Old Bailey on Wednesday the 14th of October, and Jack knew that the keepers would then have so much business, in attending the court, as would leave them but little leisure to visit him; and therefore thought, that this would be the only time to make a push for his liberty.

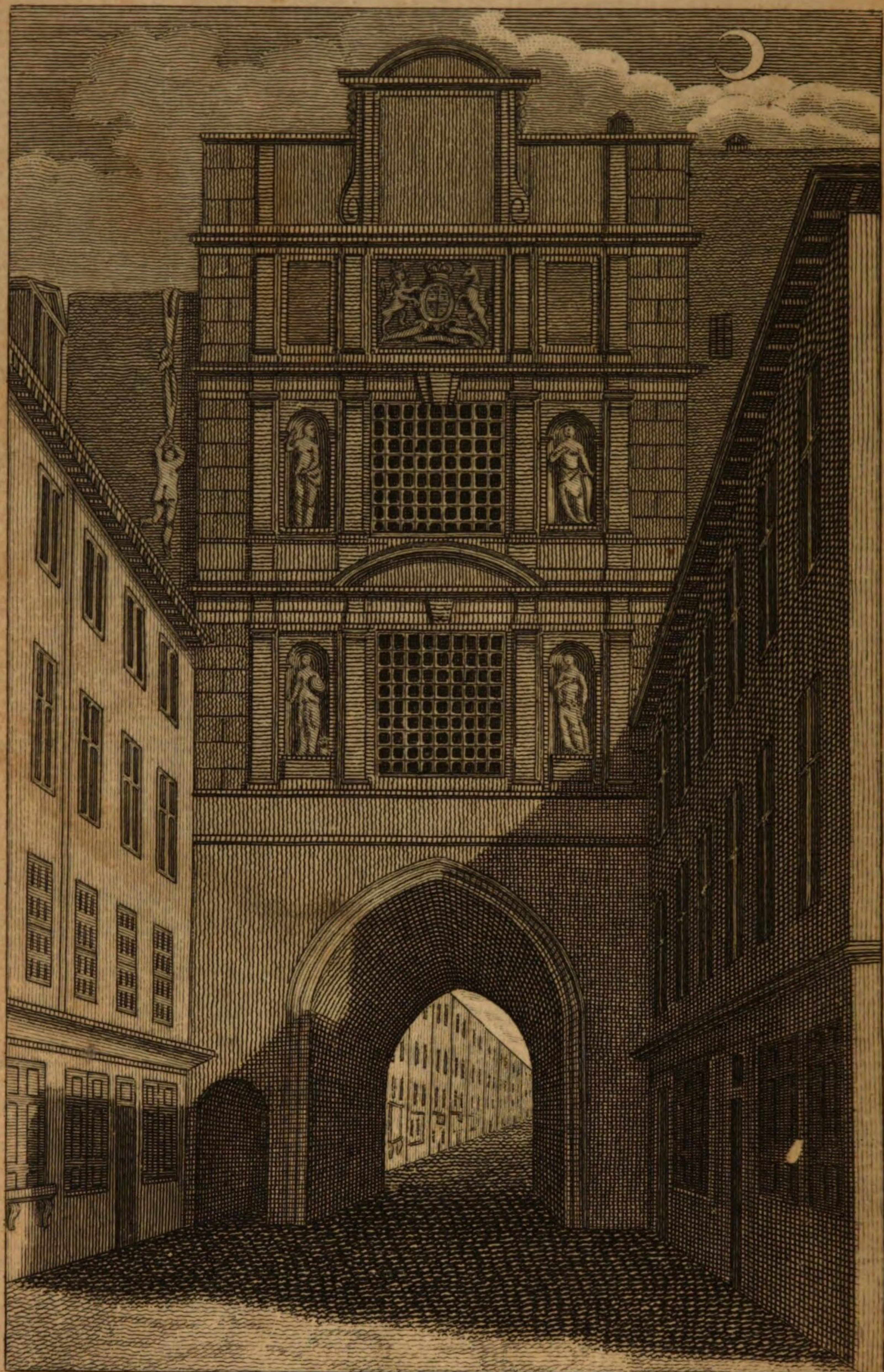
The next day, about two in the afternoon, one of the keepers carried Jack his dinner, and, as usual, examined his irons, and found all fast, and so left him.

He had hardly been gone an hour, before Jack went to work. The first thing he did, was to get off his hand cuffs, and then with a crooked nail, which he found upon the floor, he opened the great padlock that fastened his chain to the staple. Next he twisted asunder a small link of the chain between his legs, and drawing up his feet-locks as high as he could, he made them fast with his garters.

He attempted to get up the chimney, but had not advanced far, before his progress was stopped by an iron bar that went a-cross within side, and therefore being descended, he fell to work on the outside, and with a piece of his broken chain picked out the mortar, and, removing a small stone or two about six feet from the floor, he got out the iron bar, which was an inch square, and near a yard long, and this proved of great service to him.

He presently made so large a breach that he got into the Red-Room over the Castle. Here he found a great nail, which was another very useful implement. The door of this room had not been opened for seven years past; but, in less than seven minutes he wrenched off the lock, and got into the entry leading to the chapel. Here he found a door bolted

Engraved for the Tyburn Chronicle.



*Tack Shepherd Escaping from Newgate, & descending
on the top of the Turners House adjoining thereto.*

bolted on the other side, upon which he broke a hole through the wall, and pushed the bolt back.

Coming now to the chapel door, he broke off one of the iron spikes, which he kept for farther use, and so got into an entry between the chapel and the lower leads. The door of this entry was very strong, and fastened with a great lock, and, what was worse, the night had overtaken him, and he was forced to work in the dark. However, in half an hour, by the help of the great nail, the chapel spike, and the iron bar, he forced off the box of the lock, and opened the door, which led him to another yet more difficult, for it was not only locked, but barred and bolted.

Having tried in vain to make this lock and box give way, he wrenched the fillet from the main post of the door, and the box and staples came off with it. And now Sepulchre's chimes went eight. There was yet another door betwixt him and the lower leads; but it being only bolted within side, he opened it easily, and mounting to the top of it, he got over the wall, and so to the upper leads.

He now considered how to get down; for which purpose looking round him, and finding the top of the Turner's house adjoining to Newgate was the most convenient place to alight upon, he resolved to descend thither; but, as it would have been a dangerous leap, he went back to the Castle the same way that he came, and fetched a blanket he used to lie on. This he made fast to the wall of Newgate, with the spike he took out of the Chapel, and so, sliding down, dropped upon the Turner's leads, and then the clock struck nine.

The Turner's garret door on the leads happened fortunately to be open. He went in, and crept softly down one pair of stairs, when he heard company talking in a room below. His irons giving a clink, a woman started, and said, "Lord! what noise is

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O

"that?"

“ that ? ” Somebody answered, “ The dog or the cat ; ” and, thereupon Sheppard returned up to the garret, and, having continued there above two hours, he ventured down a second time, when he heard a gentleman take leave of the company, and saw the maid light him down stairs. As soon as the maid came back, and had shut the chamber-door, he made the best of his way to the street-door, unlocked it, and so made his escape, about twelve at night.

We have no account where he took up his lodging for the remaining part of that night, or rather morning, or when or how he got the irons off his legs ; but, on the 1st of November, not only his feet-locks, but his hand-cuffs too, were found in a room belonging to Kate Cook, and Kate Keys, in Cranbourn-Alley.

He had not been many days at liberty, before he wrote the two following letters ; and, dressing himself at night like a porter, went to Mr. Applebee’s house in Black-Fryars, and left them with his maid servant.

Mr. Applebee,

THIS with my kind love to you, and pray give my kind love to Mr. Wagstaff, hoping these few lines will find you in good health, as I am at present ; but I must own you are the loser for want of my Dying Speech. But to make up your loss, if you think this sheet worth your while, pray make the best of it. Though they do say that I am taken among the smugglers, and put into Dover-Castle, yet I hope I am among smugglers still. So no more, but

Your Humble Servant,

John Sheppard.

And

And I desire you would be the postman to my last lodging, so farewell, now I quit the English shore.

Newgate Farewell.

Mr. Austin,

YOU was pleased to pass your jokes upon me, and did say you should not have been angry with me, had I took my leave of you; but now, pray keep your jokes to yourself, let them laugh that win: for now it is an equal chance, you to take me, or I to get away, but I own myself guilty of that ill manners; but excuse me, for my departure being private and necessary, spoiled the ceremony of bidding adieu. But I wish you as well as I am at present. But pray be not angry for the loss of your irons, had you not gave me them, I had not taken them away; but really I had left them behind me had convenience a served. So pray don't be angry.

How Austin and Perry you did say,
If ere the Sheppard got away,
That in his room hang'd you'd be,
Upon that fatal Tyburn tree.

But that rash way I pray forsake,
Tho' Sheppard is so fortunate,
I would have you with patience wait,
Tell that again you do him take.

For you are large and heavy men,
And two the weight what was of him;
And if a way to that tree you take,
Upon my word you'd make it shake: }
So farewell now, my leave I take.

And what's amiss done, you write, for my scholarship is but small.

This from your fortunate prisoner,

John Sheppard.

Some few nights after leaving these letters, he broke open a shop in Monmouth-street, and stole a quantity of wearing apparel.

On the 29th of October he broke open the house of Robert Rawlins, a Pawnbroker, in Drury-lane, from whence he took a sword, a suit of apparel, several snuff-boxes, rings and watches, and other goods to a considerable value.

Sheppard now resolved to appear like a gentleman among his old friends in Drury-Lane and Clare-Market. He strutted about in a fine suit of black, a light tye wig, and a ruffled shirt, with a silver hilted sword by his side, a diamond ring on his finger, and a gold watch in his pocket, notwithstanding he knew there was diligent search made after him.

On the 31st of October he dined with his two whores Cook and Keys, at a publick-house in Newgate-street, where they were very merry together. About four in the afternoon they took coach, and, drawing up the windows, past through Newgate, and so to the Sheers alehouse in May-pole-Alley, by Clare-Market, where in the evening he sent for his mother, and treated her with part of three quarters of brandy.

As she knew the danger he was in, she advised him to take care of himself, and keep out of the way: But Jack had been drinking pretty hard, and was grown too wise to take counsel, and too valiant to fear any thing; and therefore, leaving his mother, he strolled about in the neighbourhood from alehouse to gin-shop, till near 12 o'clock, when he was apprehended by means of an alehouse boy, who had accidentally seen him. Poor Jack was then so drunk, that he was unable to make any resistance, and so he was once more conveyed in a coach to his old lodgings in Newgate.

The number of his visitors were now greatly increased, and there were not a few persons of quality

lity among them. Jack was not a little vain of having such company, and did his best to divert them: he was full of his jokes, and the stories of his own pranks, which he related in a manner, that shewed he was so far from repenting of his vices, that he only wished for an opportunity of repeating them. He did not however forget to entreat the noblemen to intercede with the King for a pardon, and was in great hopes of obtaining one, merely upon the merit of being an extraordinary rogue.

Indeed, when he was at chapel, he always appeared very serious and attentive; though both before, and immediately after, he made himself as merry as possible, and endeavoured all he could to prevent any religious discourse.

On the 10th of November he was carried to the King's-Bench bar at Westminster, where the record of his conviction being read, and an affidavit made that he was the same John Sheppard mentioned in that record, Mr. Justice Powis awarded sentence of death against him, and a rule of court was made for his execution on the Monday following.

The fatal day arrived, but Jack had still some hopes of eluding justice. Somebody had furnished him with a penknife: this he put naked in his pocket, with the point upwards, and (as he told one whom he thought he could trust) his design was to lean forward in the cart, and cut asunder the cord that tied his hands together, and then, when he came near Little Turnstile, to throw himself over among the crowd, and run through the narrow passage, where the officers could not follow on horseback, but must be forced to dismount; and in the mean time doubted not, but, by the mob's assistance, he should make his escape.

It is probable that he pleased himself with these thoughts, when he said, "I have now as great a
 " satisfaction

“satisfaction at heart, as if I was going to enjoy
 “an estate of 200 l. a year;” though the Chaplain
 understood it in a different sense. But this hopeful
 scheme was discovered in the Press-Yard in New-
 gate, just as he was going into the cart, though it
 was not prevented without some loss of blood; one
 Watson an officer, too incautiously examining Jack’s
 pockets, unluckily cut his own fingers.

Sheppard had still another project in his head.
 He earnestly desired some of his acquaintance, that,
 after his body was cut down, they would, as soon
 as possible, put it into a warm bed, and try to let
 him blood; for he said, he believed if such care was
 taken, they might restore him to life.

At the place of execution he behaved himself
 very gravely, confessed in particular, that he robbed
 Mr. Phillips and Mrs. Cook, though, for want of
 full evidence, the jury had acquitted him of both;
 and declared, that when he and Blueskin robbed
 Mr. Kneebone, Will. Field was not with them.

He was hanged at Tyburn, on Monday, Novem-
 ber 16, 1724, in the 23d year of his age. He died
 with great difficulty, and much pitied by the mob.
 When he had hung about a quarter of an hour, he
 was cut down by a soldier, and delivered to his
 friends, who carried him to the Barley-Mow in Long-
 Acre, and he was buried the same evening in St.
 Martin’s church-yard.

Perhaps there never was any felon in this king-
 dom, whose adventures have made so much noise
 as Sheppard’s. He was for a considerable time the
 common subject of conversation. There were six or
 seven different histories of his life; and several
 copper-plates, representing the manner of his escapes
 out of the Condemned-hold, and the Castle in New-
 gate; besides other prints of his effigies. The prin-
 cipal of these last was a Mezzotinto, done from the
 original

original picture, painted by Sir James Thornhill, on which occasion the following stanzas were printed in the British Journal of Nov. 28, 1724.

Thornhill, 'tis thine to gild with fame
Th' obscure, and raise the humble name;
To make the form elude the grave,
And Sheppard from oblivion save.

Tho' life in vain the wretch implores,
An exile on the farthest shores,
Thy pencil brings a kind reprieve,
And bids the dying robber live.

This piece to latest time shall stand,
And shew the wonders of thy hand.
Thus former masters grac'd their name,
And gave egregious robbers fame.

Apelles Alexander drew,
Cæsar is to Aurellius due,
Cromwell in Lilly's works doth shine,
And Sheppard, Thornhill, lives in thine.

Sheppard was even thought a proper subject for the stage. Mr. Thurmond contrived a pantomine entertainment, called, "Harlequin Sheppard: A night scene in grotesque characters."——It was acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. The scenes were painted from the real places of action.

After this a farce of three acts was printed, under the title of "The Prison-Breaker; or the Adventures of John Sheppard."——This was never acted at any of the Theatres: But, after it had lain a long while neglected, it was intermixed with songs and catches, at Bartholomew-Fair, under the name of "The Quaker's Opera."

And

And what is yet more, Jack's adventures have been spiritualized in the pulpit, if the relator was not in jest when he told the following story; but, however, we shall repeat it as near as possible in his own words, and leave the reader to judge how far it deserves credit.

One Sunday evening, said he, as I was returning home from t'other end of the town, I some how missed my way, and passing by a porch, I heard the sound of a preacher's voice, upon which I turned back and stepped in. He was pretty near the conclusion of his sermon. What I heard was so small a part, and so remarkable, that I believe I can repeat it almost verbatim.—These were his words, or at least to this effect:

——“ Now, my beloved, what a melancholy
 “ consideration it is, that men should shew so much
 “ regard for the preservation of a poor perishing
 “ body, that can remain at most but a few years;
 “ and at the same time be so unaccountably negli-
 “ gent of a precious soul, which must continue
 “ to the age, of eternity! O what care! what
 “ pains! what diligence! and what contrivances are
 “ made use of for, and laid out upon, these frail
 “ and tottering tabernacles of clay! when alas! the
 “ nobler part of us is allowed so very small a share
 “ of our concern, that we scarce will give ourselves
 “ the trouble of bestowing a thought upon it.

“ We have a remarkable instance of this, in a
 “ notorious malefactor, well known by the name of
 “ Jack Sheppard! what amazing difficulties has he
 “ overcome, what astonishing things has he perform-
 “ ed, for the sake of a stinking miserable carcase,
 “ hardly worth hanging? how dexterously did he
 “ pick the padlock of his chain with a crooked nail?
 “ how manfully he burst his fetters asunder, climb
 “ up

“ up the chimney, wrench out an iron bar, break
 “ his way through a stone-wall, and make the strong
 “ doors of a dark entry fly before him, till he got
 “ upon the leads of the prison? and then, fixing
 “ a blanket to the wall with a spike he stole out of
 “ the Chapel, how intrepidly did he descend to
 “ the top of the Turner’s house, and how cautiously
 “ pass down the stairs, and make his escape at the
 “ street-door!

“ O that ye were all like Jack Sheppard!—Mis-
 “ take me not, my brethren, I don’t mean in a car-
 “ nal, but in a spiritual sense, for I purpose to
 “ spiritualize these things.—What a shame it would
 “ be if we should not think it worth our while to
 “ take as much pains, and employ as many deep
 “ thoughts to save our souls, as he has done to pre-
 “ serve his body!

“ Let me exhort ye then to open the *Locks* of your
 “ *Hearts* with the *Nail of Repentance*; burst asunder
 “ the *Fetters* of your *beloved Lusts*; mount the *Chimney*
 “ of *Hope*, take from thence the *Bar* of good *Resoluti-*
 “ *on*, break through the *Stone-Wall* of *Despair*, and all
 “ the *strong Holds* in the *dark Entry* of the *Valley of*
 “ *the Shadow of Death*: Raise yourselves to the
 “ *Leads* of *Divine Mediation*. Fix the *Blanket* of
 “ *Faith* with the *Spike* of the *Church*. Let your-
 “ selves down to the *Turner’s House* of *Resignation*, and
 “ descend the *Stairs* of *Humility*: So shall you come
 “ to the *Door* of *Deliverance* from the *Prison* of *Ini-*
 “ *quity*, and *escape* the clutches of that old *Executioner*
 “ the *Devil*, who goeth about like a roaring *Lion*,
 “ seeking whom he may devour.”

But the best piece relating to Sheppard, is a Dia-
 logue in the British Journal of Dec. 4, 1725. As
 we believe it is hardly now to be met with, and are
 well assured it will be acceptable, we shall give it a
 place here.

S I R,

TH E following dialogue, between an ancient and a modern hero, is, we apprehend, designed as an imitation of Lucian or Fontenelle; whether the Author has succeeded in that design, or no, we won't pretend to determine; but, if he has not, we are of opinion, that the good sense and truth which runs through it, will be a sufficient apology for making it this day's entertainment.

Julius Cæsar and Jack Sheppard.

C. How now, wretch! what madness has inspired thee with the thought of swelling into a comparison with me?

S. Look you, Sir, I have been as excellent in my way as you in yours, perhaps more so: and, as we are now in a place where glory is our best portion, I can see no reason why an equality in merit should not be a foundation for an equality in fame.

C. And is it possible? Gods! what do I hear? are all my battles compared to street-robberies? all my sieges to burglaries? and must all the actions of my life be tarnished by a vile comparison with a slave, whose highest character is that of a gaol-breaker?

S. Softly, good Cæsar. Is it more a crime to pick a lock, than unhinge a constitution? are a pair of fetters more sacred than the liberty of the people? and is it more dishonourable to slip through the hands of a goaler, than break through the laws of one's country?

C. Now, friend, I have caught thee: wert not thou made a publick spectacle of infamy for breach of thy country's laws?

S. I was, and 'tis there (if any where) I have an advantage over thee: I only infringed the laws, not overturned them. I did not grow too big a villain for them to punish me, as you did, and therefore was punished in an extraordinary manner; but surely, in fair reasoning, 'tis the crime, not the punishment, that is scandalous.

C. That I am ready to grant; but prithee what are my crimes?

S. O Lord, Sir! I want memory to repeat them. Usurping tyranny; enslaving your country; destroying the established plan of government; invading foreigners, whose freedom you had no right to disturb; and perplexing citizens, whose liberties you were obliged to preserve: In a word, being seditious at home, and troublesome abroad, is the best character you have to boast on.

C. This is a little odd. But pray, Sir, had I no virtues?

S. Very few. Some accomplishments indeed you had, and so had I, or neither of us had been fit for our business: your purpose was to obtain power; mine to get riches: we both took illegal methods, and therefore some supplemental qualities were necessary to our undertakings; you was learned, wise and valiant; I was sly, cunning and dexterous.

C. And will you then make no difference between our enterprizes?

S. Not 'till you shew me, that the one was more warrantable than the other, or less noxious to mankind; and which ever you prove so, I'll allow to be the most laudable.

C. Very well! as yet you have only shewn that our vices are equal: now, pray Sir, what are your virtues?

S. Did I ever pretend to any? Sir, you mistake me, I only put in for fame, to which virtue is but an

indifferent title. Lord, Sir ! if either you or I had possessed virtues, we had been forgotten long since.

C. Heyday ! and so you are content, if I give up my character for that of a villain, to be thought one too.

S. I never aspired to be greater than Cæsar.

C. Presumptuous ! and dost thou hope to be equal ?

S. Why not ? my actions are as wonderful, and somewhat honest.

C. Why dost thou not relate them then ? for as yet I have heard nothing, but infamous things of thy performing.

S. Cæsar, I hate boasting ; but could I write like thee an account of my life, it would not be credited, but it would be free from the censures that may be cast upon thine : men would find nothing in it undertaken through wantonness or ambition. I did not ravage, as you did, in the East for fame, in the West for supremacy : all my actions were enterprized on a justifiable score, the maintenance of life ; and, if glory attended them, she came uninvited and unexpected.

C. I perceive by your discourse, that you are a leveller, and not to be conversed with on such subjects : but you were pleased to affirm just now, that I had no virtues ; I tie you to that assertion, and, laying aside my character of monarch, will join issue with you upon the foot of personal merit.

S. Why now you talk reason, and I shall hear you with pleasure.

C. What's your opinion of my courage ?

S. Why, that you had courage is not to be disputed ; but you must allow it to me also ; and I think I have shewn it to a greater degree than you did. I fancy declaring war alone and unarmed, against a whole potent kingdom, is what you would not have ventured upon. Besides, courage is a quality so
many

many brutes have in common with us, that 'tis almost a shame to boast of it. And then it has such a dependance on our constitution, that it is no more a merit than birth, beauty, or any other accidental ornament; and a man is no more to be praised, or blamed, for having, or wanting courage, than for having a fine hand, or a distorted face.

C. What of my humanity and moderation?

S. Trick and artifice, like my own: rigour and cruelty would have undone you. Why, I never purloined any thing that could be of no use to me.

C. What say you to my wisdom and learning?

S. Your learning I don't understand, but I hope you would not palm it upon me for a virtue. And as for your wisdom, I am ashamed the world has been imposed on by it: I have contrived a better plot for stealing a gold watch, than that by which you stole the liberties of Rome: nor was your scheme for getting the sword of power into your hands by any means equal to mine for procuring one, whose only worth was a silver hilt. O! that I had been Cæsar, and you Sheppard! I should have made a glorious emperor, and you but a sorry thief.

C. Come, good words and few; I have but one question to ask. What are your thoughts of my resolution? do you think passing the Rubicon, or swimming from Alexandria to my fleet, have historical actions their equals?

S. Heyday! did you ever hear of my two escapes? And do you think the man who had resolution enough to attempt them, did not surpass you?

C. They were acts of despair, not of resolution.

S. I believe, Sir, you'll find 'em founded on the same principle with yours; or if they vary, 'tis for the better. Such of your mad pranks as you had no occasion to play, were done for glory; those which you were forced on, for life. My actions were all of the latter sort, and therefore, as I hinted before,
more

more meritorious than yours ; for, next to playing the fool, the greatest folly is doing it only with a view to be talked of.

C. 'Tis somewhat hard, that, though I have given up my public character, you will allow me no personal merit in my private.

S. Sir, I have reason. You and I have done great actions in our several ways ; but the ends, for which we did them, render them vile : there is no such thing as personal merit independent of society, nor can any accomplishments deserve that name, but in proportion to the benefit which the weal-public receives from them. Courage, humanity, moderation, wisdom, learning and resolution, are fine qualities, but it is the use and application which makes them virtues ; and the only reason for paying any regard to them, is, that, when men are engaged for the good of their kind, such qualities make them more able to procure it effectually ; which argument is reversed when the purpose is altered.

C. I am almost of your opinion. You reason well ; and I wish, for the peace of mankind, the rulers of the earth had as just a notion of my character as you have."

The Trial of JOSEPH BLAKE, alias BLUESKIN, for Burglary ; with an Account of his Life and Behaviour.

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the month of October 1724, *Joseph Blake*, alias *Blueskin*, of St. Mary le Savoy, was indicted for breaking and entering the house of William Kneebone,

bone, and stealing 108 yards of woollen cloth, value 36l. and other goods, in the night of the 12th of June, 1724.

The prosecutor deposed, that having heard that two of his neighbours houses had been robbed, and received some intimation that his own was marked down for the next, he took a particular care to see all his doors and windows fast, before he went to bed; notwithstanding which, his house was broke open that very night, and 108 yards of woollen cloth, and other goods, were taken away, which he missed in the morning, and found that the two bars of his cellar-window were cut, and the cellar-door, which had been locked with a padlock, and bolted, was broke open.

Hereupon he acquainted Jonathan Wild with what had happened, and told him that he suspected Jack Sheppard. Wild procured Sheppard to be apprehended, and the prosecutor visiting Sheppard in Newgate, he declared that himself and the prisoner committed the fact.

Here the court told Mr. Kneebone, that what Sheppard had confessed might be evidence against himself, but could not affect another: and Mr. Kneebone said, that after they were taken, William Field appeared as a voluntary evidence against Sheppard, and was then come as a witness against the prisoner.

William Field deposed, that the prisoner asked him to go with him and Sheppard to rob Mr. Kneebone, but that being unwilling to expose himself to danger, he said he did not know the house. "Blood" cried the prisoner, "nor I neither; but Jack Sheppard does, for he has lived there, and he'll undertake it, and we shall have nothing to do, but to help carry off the goods, or else I should be as unwilling to venture as you."

This

This deponent having consented, the prisoner and he went to Lambeth, where they crossed the water, and went to Sheppard's lodgings in Westminster about three in the afternoon, where they staid till about twelve at night, and then all three went to Mr. Kneebone's house.

Sheppard easily broke it open, by taking the bars out of the window, for (as he said) he had cut them above a month before. This deponent having provided himself with a tinder-box, and the prisoner with a wax candle, Sheppard took the tinder-box and candle, and went in, while they stood to look out, till he had got the goods in readiness, and then, opening the back door, they went in, and each of them took a burden of broad cloth, and carried it off.

The prisoner and this Field went afterwards to pawn part of this cloth; but Blake stood at a little distance, while Field carried it into the pawn-brokers, where it was afterwards found by his directions. This cloth was produced in court.

Abraham Mendez, a Jew, deposed, that he went with Jonathan Wild, to assist him in bringing the prisoner to Newgate, and, as they were coming by the prosecutor's house, Wild said to the prisoner "There's the Ken," to which the prisoner answered, "Say no more of that Mr. Wild, for I know I am a dead man; but what I fear is, that I shall afterwards be carried to Surgeon's Hall, and anatomized;" but Wild replied, "No I'll take care to prevent that, for I'll give you a coffin."

Quilt Arnold deposed, that he went with Wild and Mendez to apprehend the prisoner, and going to his chamber door, bid him open it; but on his swearing he would not, this deponent burst it open. Hereupon the prisoner drew a penknife, and swore he would kill the first man that came in: "Then I am the first man," said this deponent, "and Mr. Wild

“ Wild is not far behind, and if you don’t deliver
 “ your penknife immediately, I’ll chop your arm
 “ off.” Upon this the prisoner threw the knife down,
 and was apprehended; and this deponent afterward
 heard Wild promise to give him a coffin.

The prisoner, in his defence, said, that he knew
 nothing of the fact, nor ever had any acquaintance
 with Field; and that as to resisting Quilt Arnold, he
 at first took him for a bailiff that was come to arrest
 him.

The jury found the prisoner guilty, in conse-
 quence of which he received sentence of death.

After the verdict was passed, the prisoner addres-
 sed the court and said, “ On Wednesday morning
 “ last, Jonathan Wild said to Simon Jacobs, * I be-
 “ lieve you will not bring 40l. this time; I wish
 “ Joe, (meaning me) was in your case; but I am
 “ afraid he is a dead man; but I’ll do my endeavour
 “ to bring you off as a single felon.” And then,
 turning to me, he said, “ I believe you must die.—
 “ I’ll send you a good book or two, and provide you
 “ a coffin, and you shall not be anatomized.”

An Account of Joseph Blake, alias Blueskin.

THIS malefactor was born in London. He
 was kept six years at school; but had so early
 an inclination to roguery, that he made but
 little progress in his learning. Here his acquaintance
 begun with Will. Blewit, who was his school-fellow,
 and who afterwards proved to be a villain of the
 first rank.

Blake was no sooner taken from school, than he
 applied himself to picking and snatching pockets, in
 company with one Edward Pollit. The greatest prize
 they got was one night, about three years before
 Blake’s death, in Threadneedle-street, where they

* This Jacobs was then a prisoner, and soon afterwards transported.

snatched off a woman's pocket, in which they found thirty-seven shillings, and some half-pence, a silver snuff-box gilt, a pocket-bottle of Geneva, and a tortoise-shell tobacco box.

Blake was hardly fifteen before he had been in all the Bridewells, and Work-houses about town. He afterwards undertook street robberies, and joined himself with Will. Lock, Robert Wilkinson, James Lincoln, Valentine Carrick, and Daniel Carrol, and was one of their company when they robbed Mr. Clark, assaulted Captain Langley, and murdered Peter Martin, the Chelsea pensioner, on the 4th of June, 1722.

Wilkinson was taken first, and carried before Justice Hewit, where, in hopes of being made an evidence, he informed against Oakey, Milklop, Ping, Lincoln, Carrick, Carrol and Lock. But Lock being apprehended soon after, made a much larger information before Justice Blackerby, containing about seventy robberies, besides the murder of Peter Martin; so that Lock was admitted an evidence, Wilkinson's impeachment was set aside, and he himself was brought to the bar, and convicted of the murder of Peter Martin, and of several robberies.

One Joseph Rice, who was shot in attempting to rob the Lady Chudleigh's coach, was another of Blake's companions.

Blake was taken in December, 1722, and made an information of twelve robberies, the chief of which are the following.

“ With William Blewit, and Richard Oakey, I
 “ stopped a man on horseback near Walworth-Com-
 “ mon. bound him, and took 19 s. and some copper, a
 “ studded case watch, which watch was pawned by
 “ Mrs. Jones, wife of Humphry Jones, and I had
 “ 12s.” [Humphry Jones and his wife were tried
 for several Felonies, in Feb. 1722-3.]

“ Three

“ Three weeks before I was taken, with one John
 “ Junk, alias Lavie, [alias Levee,] I took from four
 “ passengers in the Camberwell stage-coach, about
 “ 20 shillings, and on Sunday last, being the 16th
 “ of this instant, with Matthew Flood, I robbed a
 “ single gentleman in a chaise, about six in the even-
 “ ing, on the Hampstead road, of a silver watch,
 “ with a black ribbon, and a half broad-piece. On
 “ the 20th of this instant, we robbed two gentlemen
 “ [W. Young, Esq. and Col. Cope,] with hunting
 “ caps on, in a chariot on the Hampstead road, and
 “ took two gold watches, with chains and seals, and
 “ out of one gentleman’s fob, I took a small ring, an
 “ inscription writ round it, having a small chrystal
 “ stone; also, one guinea in gold, and about 16 s.
 “ The watches we sold to R. Grettrix, of Southwark,
 “ for fourteen guineas. Note, Junk laid down his
 “ pistol by the gentlemen, while he committed the
 “ robbery.

“ With Richard Oakey, and John Junk, I stopped
 “ a single man with a link, in Fig-lane, who resist-
 “ ing us, Junk and Oakey beat him with their pis-
 “ tols on the head and breast, and took from him
 “ one guinea, and one penny, and left him in a wound-
 “ ed sad condition.”

“ Also I, with Edward Pollit and John Junk, stop-
 “ ped a man on horseback in Hampstead road, bound
 “ him, and took one guinea, twelve shillings, a great
 “ coat, a hat, and a coloured handkerchief: the coat
 “ Junk had, and sold.

“ Also, with Matthew Flood and John Junk, I
 “ robbed a gentleman in a coach near Tyburn-house,
 “ of one guinea, and about six shillings.

Daniel Carrol escaped to Ireland, where he had not
 been long, before he was killed by a thief taker.

Oakey, Levee and Flood were convicted on Blake’s
 evidence, of robbing Mr. Young, Col. Cope, and

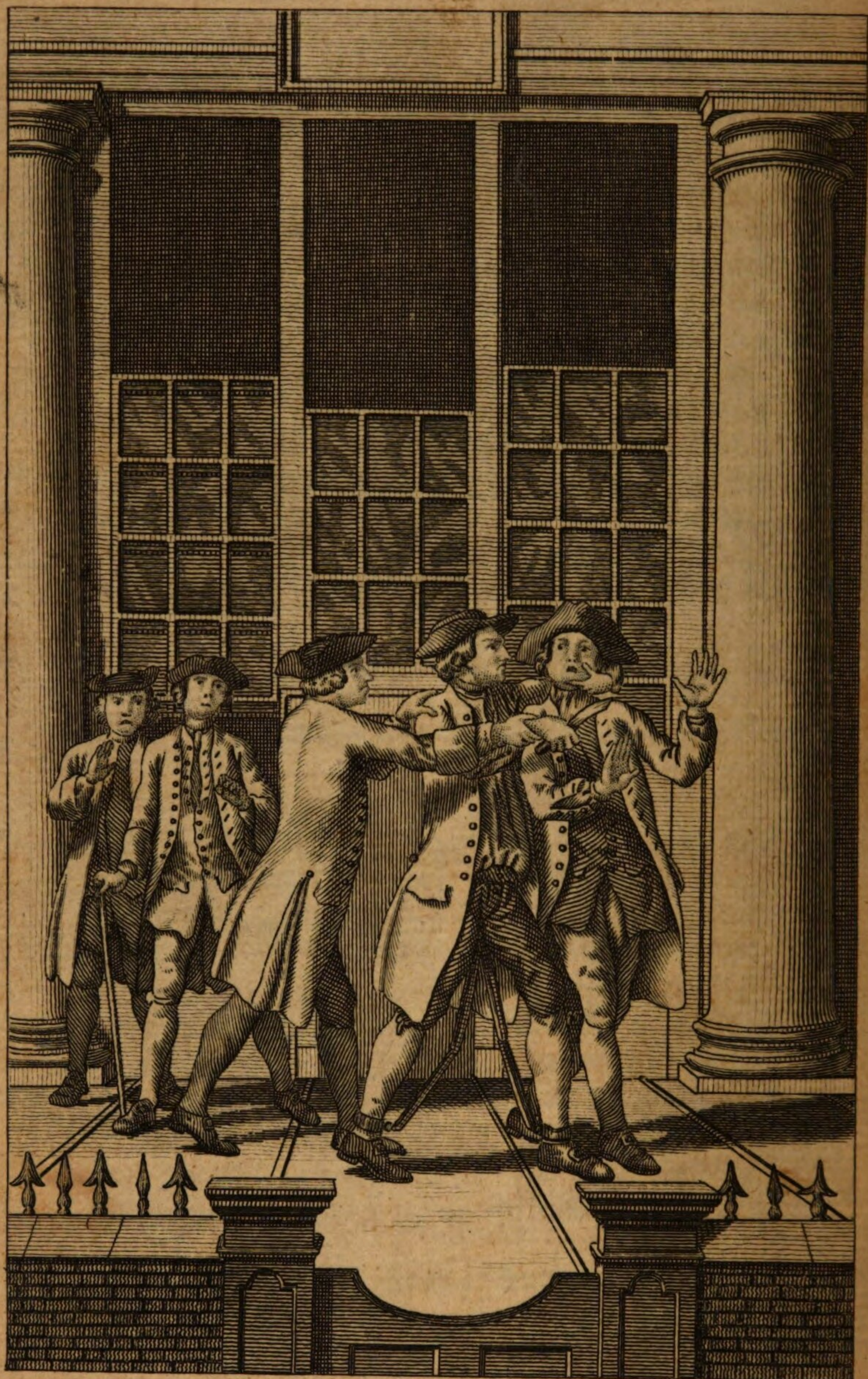
Simeon Betts.—The watch they took from Mr. Young, as before, was the same he had been robbed of once before by Molony and Carrick.

Blake, upon these convictions, expected not only his liberty, but part of the reward allowed by the government; but he was told, he had no right to either, because he was not a voluntary witness; but, so far from it, that he made a violent resistance, and received a dangerous cut in his head, and other wounds before he would surrender; and therefore, if he would not consent to be transported for seven years, he must find security for his good behaviour before the court would discharge him; and thereupon he was remanded to Wood-street-Compter.

Jonathan Wild paid for the cure of Blake's wound, and allowed him 3 s. 6 d. a week, for a considerable time.—No doubt but he had some reasons for so doing.

Blake lay above a year in the Compter, before he could get bail; at last prevailing with two Gardners, he acquainted the court, that he was ready to give security for his good behaviour for seven years. The court referred him to Sir John Fryer. Blake and his two sureties accordingly attended on Sir John, who took their recognizance. A gentleman, who was then present, asked him how long it might be before they saw Blake again at the Old Bailey? another answered, about three sessions, and he happened to guess right: for at the third sessions Joe was brought to the bar, as we shall immediately see.

No sooner was he at liberty, but, meeting with Jack Sheppard, they went a plundering together. On Monday, the 20th of July about nine at night, not far from Fig lane, they robbed John Pargiter of three shillings, as he was going home to Hampstead: the consequence of which was very unhappy;
For,



Record sculp.

Blake, alias Blueskin, attempting to cut the Throat of
Jonathan Wild, on the leads before the Sessions House
in the OLD BAILLY.

For, as Pargiter was drunk when he lost his money, he rashly (to say no worse of it) swore the robbery upon two innocent brothers, Francis and Benjamin Brightwell; and, though it appeared in court, that they were men of spotless characters, and were acquitted with honour, yet it cost Francis his life; for, in a little while after, he died with grief, or, as some say, with the gaol distemper.—How shocking must the thought of this have been to the prosecutor, if he was not dead to all the feelings of humanity!

Blake and Sheppard committed several other robberies together, but, the last fact Blake was concerned with him in, was the breaking open Mr. Kneebone's house, for which they were both condemned.

The day that Blake was tried, he was put into the bail-dock, in the sessions-house. Jonathan Wild going in to speak with him, he suddenly drew a clasp-penknife, and cut Jonathan's throat; but, as the knife was dull, the wound, though dangerous, did not prove mortal.

With regard to his behaviour after sentence, the Ordinary of Newgate says;

“ When under condemnation, he did not shew
 “ a concern, yet always made the responses re-
 “ gularly, and never appeared otherwise than se-
 “ rious at chapel; when he was asked if he was
 “ prompted to commit the violence upon Mr. Jona-
 “ than Wild (who had paid for the healing of his
 “ wounds two years ago, allowed him money in
 “ the Compter, promised him good books, a coffin,
 “ &c.) he answered, that none prompted him to that
 “ assault, but a sudden thought entered that moment
 “ into his mind, or else he should have provided a
 “ better knife, which would have cut off a head
 “ directly; adding, that he so acted, because the above
 “ person (as he thought) could have obtained trans-
 “ portation

portation for him; as one man [Sheppard] was
condemned for the same offence before.

“ As his death approached, his concern did not
“ encrease, but rather abated, and he appeared more
“ thoughtless. It was thought he meditated means
“ of escaping, even to the very time of his being
“ executed.

“ At the place of execution.———Joseph Blake,
“ though he was observed by some who saw him,
“ to be disguised in liquor, and to reel and falter
“ in his speech at Tyburn, yet was, before he died,
“ sensible of the crime he therein committed, and,
“ as he shed tears in the morning at chapel, so he
“ shewed the same regret immediately before his
“ death.”

He was hanged at Tyburn, Nov. 11, 1723.

*The Trial of SUSAN GRIMES, for privately
Stealing.*

AT the sessions held at the Old-Bailey in the
month of April, 1725, *Susan Grimes*, of the
parish of St. Giles's in the Fields, was indicted for
privately stealing a silver watch, value 5 l. and twen-
ty-five shillings and six-pence in money, from the
person of James Fitzgerald on the 5th of February,
1724—5.

The prosecutor, whose brogue and blunders will
instantly discover his country, delivered his evidence
as follows :

James Fitzgerald. On te 25th of last February
instant, I wash attending upon tish court, at an ale-house
hard by, for I wash after having shome businesh here
as a solishitor; and about 11 o'clock at midnight, be
my

my shoul I wash got pretty drunk, and wash going very shoberly along the Old-Bailey, and tare I met te preeshoner upon te bar, as she wash going before me. I wash after asking her which way she was walking, and she made a laugh upon my faush, and shaid to Newtoner's-lane. "Arra joy now," shaid I, "you should always have shomebody with ye when you go sho far alone, for fear you should come to no harm:" she shaid, "she would be after taking me along with her, if I would give her any thing." "Why fait now my dear shoul," shaid I, "you shall never fear but I will give you shomething or other, if I have got nothing myshelf." Sho we agreed and we went together, but, not having any deshign to be consfhernd with her, I paid her landlady a shilling for a bed.

Here the court asked him why he went home with her, if he had no deshign to be concerned with her; to which he answered, "It ish my way to make love upon a woman in te streets, and go home with her, when I deshign to lie alone,"

The court having remarked that this was a very odd way, Fitzgerald proceeded in the following manner.

Tat ish very true indeed, but it ish my common practish.—Sho when I had paid for te bed itself, te preeshoner was after mahking me shhit upon te bed with her, and sho tumble together, but I wash after shitting in the chair; and then she was after coming to shhit in my lap; but I would not let her shhit there, and sho she shhit beshide me; and then I was hoping she would be eashy: but for all that, she would not let me shhit at quiet; for she was after being consfhernd with my breeches itself, and got my watch out of my pocket whether I would or no; and I pulled, and she pulled, and sho at last for fear she should get it from me, I let go my hold, and went for a constable, and he carried us to the watch-house,

house, where he took the watch upon her. He found it in a private plash, that my modesty won't suffer me to name; for ash I am a living chrestian, she had put it into ——

The constable deposed, that he found the watch in the place the prosecutor had named; that the prisoner said he was to give her half a crown to do so and so with her; but not having money enough, he delivered the watch as a pledge till he came again.

The prisoner, in her defence, said, that the prosecutor met her under Newgate, took hold of her arm, and asked her where she was going; and she told him to her lodgings in Charles street, desiring him to go about his business; but he would follow her whether she would or not. When she came home her landlady opened the door, and then she once more desired him to leave her; but instead of going away, he caught hold of her landlady's hand, and swore he would come in and drink: so he sat himself down, and called for two or three quarters of brandy, and then, having no money to pay the reckoning, he pawned his watch to her for a crown. He was so impudent, that they were both forced to fall on their knees, or there would have been no such thing as keeping his hands from under their petticoats. After this he pulled off the prisoner's handkerchief, and was going up into her bedchamber, telling her, that she should not have it again, unless she would follow him; but she assured him he should wait long enough if he waited till she came: "Why, ye bitch," cried he, "If ye won't I'll swear your life away for picking my pocket of the watch that I pawned to your landlady; for I am an Irishman, and can swear farther than ten Englishmen." Upon this the prisoner called a watchman, and they were both taken into custody.

The court asked the prosecutor, how he, who pretended to be a solicitor, came to make such a mistake

take, as to indict the prisoner for stealing his watch privately, and without his knowledge, when it appeared, by his own evidence, that she took it violently, and with his knowledge.

To this Fitzgerald replied, "Why fait now she
"had a private deshign upon my watch, for she took
"hould of the chain, when I thought she was after
"taking hould of something elsh."

The jury acquitted the prisoner.

*The Trial of JOHN ALLOWAY, for a Rape
and Robbery.*

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey, in the month of May, 1725, *John Alloway*, of St. Martin's in the Fields, was indicted for assaulting, ravishing, and, against her will, carnally knowing Sarah Muns, spinster, on the 19th of April, 1725.

He was a second time indicted for assaulting Sarah Muns on the river Thames, (it being a common highway,) putting her in fear, and taking from her 9s. and 6d. on the said 19th of April.

This singular trial is conveyed to us in the following words :

Sarah Muns. On Saturday night, April 19, between nine and ten o'clock, I took a boat at Hungerford-stairs, to go to Westminster. The waterman carried me I don't know where—out of my knowledge—and kept me upon the water till five o'clock in the morning—I don't know when he left me, but

there I was found about that time by another man—I think his name is Burnham—I know—I don't know—I can't say that—I know who the waterman was—It *mought* be the prisoner—or it *mought* not. But whoever it was, he carried me away against my consent—not but that I was willing,—and he was very rude—indeed while he staid—and—a—lay with me once—I think it was once—

Court. You must explain yourself. The law requires it.

Muns. He had the car—car—carnal use of my—my—body.

Court. Was it without your consent?

Muns. Yes—without my consent—he did it by main force—whether I would or no—but not—not against my will—I did not comply—through any fear—he forced me to it by great—great—persuasion—as much as by any thing else.

Court. Did he use no threats?

Muns. No, he never threatened me—

Court. He did not?—and yet now, by the manner in which you give your evidence, you seem very willing to pass for a young woman of extraordinary modesty.

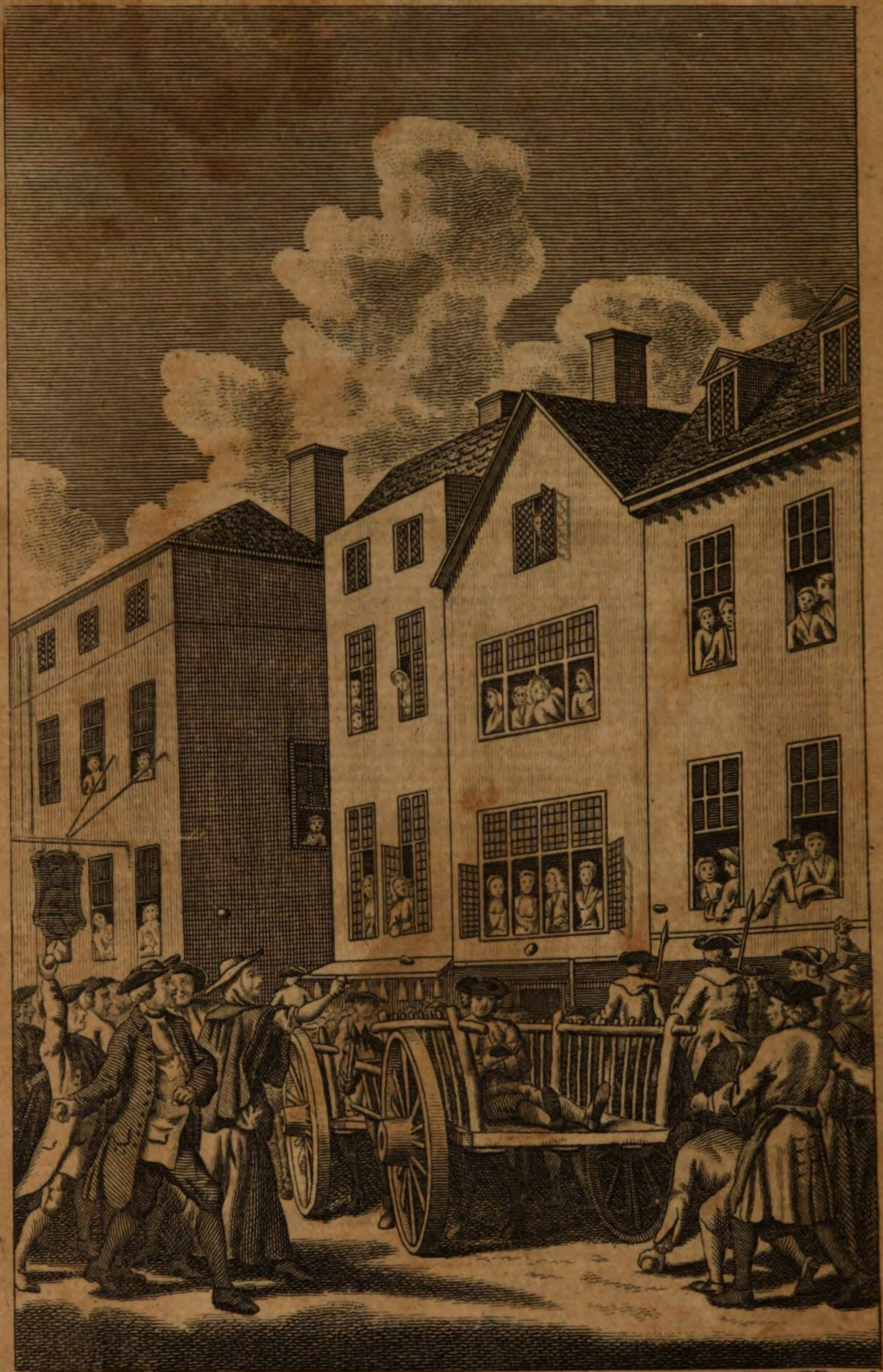
Muns. Indeed I can't say whether he had any thing to—to—do with me or no—he *mought*, or he *mought* not—but if he did—he never meddled with me—so as to do me any harm—for if he had, I should have cried out, but I never made the least noise in life.

Court. Did he take any money from you?

Muns. Yes—no—he did not take it from me—against my will—I think I gave it him freely—for he was welcome to any thing I had about me.

Court. You seem very fearful of saying any thing that may affect the prisoner—How came you to swear against him before the justice, and when you found the bill?

Muns.



S. Wale delin.

J. Record sculp.

Jonathan Wild pelted by the Mob on
his way to the Place of Execution.

Muns. Why when Burnham found me floating in the boat, about five in the morning, he took me out, and went with me before a justice, and I was in such a great surprize at that time, that I swore I don't know what.

Justice. ——She swore before me, that she cried out, and he stopped her mouth with a handkerchief.

The jury acquitted the prisoner.

The Trial of JONATHAN WILD, for Felonies; with an Account of his Life and Transactions, and particulars respecting many other Villains.

TH E R E is something so singular in the whole life and behaviour of this malefactor, who made himself very famous in a way so peculiar to himself, and at length ended his life at that gallows to which he had sent many before him, that our readers will reasonably expect a very full and particular account of him; and in this we will endeavour to gratify them, by the publication of the best materials in our possession.

On Monday the 15th of February, 1724—5. Mr. Jones, High Constable of Holborn Division, having apprehended Wild at his own house in the Old Bailey, carried him before Sir John Fryer, before whom he was charged upon oath, with having assisted one Johnson, a highwayman, to make his escape from a constable at Bow, near Stratford, in the county of Middlesex, and was thereupon committed to Newgate.

The sessions at the Old-Bailey beginning on Wednesday the 24th of the same month, Wild that day entered his prayer to be tried that session, or bailed, or discharged. But, on the Friday following there came down a warrant of detainer, which was produced in court, with several informations upon oath to the following effect.

I. That for many years past he had been a confederate with great numbers of highwaymen, pick-pockets, house-breakers, shop-lifters, and other thieves.

II. That he had formed a kind of corporation of thieves, of which he was the head or director, and that notwithstanding his pretended services, in detecting and prosecuting offenders, he procured such only to be hanged as concealed their booty, or refused to share it with him.

III. That he had divided the town and country into so many districts, and appointed distinct gangs for each, who regularly accounted with him for their robberies. That he had also a particular set to steal at churches in time of divine service: and likewise other moving detachments to attend at court, on birth-days, balls, &c. and at both houses of parliament, circuits, and country fairs.

IV. That the persons employed by him were for the most part felons convicted, who had returned from transportation before the time, for which they were transported, was expired; and that he made choice of them to be his agents, because they could not be legal evidences against him, and because he had it in his power to take from them what part of the stolen goods he thought fit, and otherwise use them ill, or hang them as he pleased.

V. That he had from time to time supplied such convicted felons with money and cloaths, and lodged them in his own house, the better to conceal them; particularly

particularly some, against whom there are now informations for counterfeiting and diminishing broad pieces and guineas.

VI. That he had not only been a receiver of stolen goods, as well as of writings of all kinds, for near fifteen years past, but had frequently been a confederate, and robbed along with the above-mentioned convicted felons.

VII. That, in order to carry on these vile practices, to gain some credit with the ignorant multitude, he usually carried a short silver staff, as a badge of authority from the government, which he used to produce, when he himself was concerned in robbing.

VIII. That he had, under his care and direction, several warehouses for receiving and concealing stolen goods; and also a ship for carrying off jewels, watches, and other valuable goods, to Holland, where he had a superannuated thief for his factor.

IX. That he kept in pay several artists to make alterations, and transform watches, seals, snuff-boxes, rings, and other valuable things, that they might not be known, several of which he used to present to such persons as he thought might be of service to him.

X. That he seldom or never helped the owners to the notes and papers they had lost, unless he found them able exactly to specify and describe them, and then often insisted on more than half the value.

XI. And lastly, it appears that he has often sold human blood, by procuring false evidence to swear persons into facts they were not guilty of; sometimes to prevent them from being evidences against himself, and at other times for the sake of the great reward given by the government.

Besides these informations, an affidavit of Mr. Jones was read in court, importing, that there were two persons

persons who offered to charge Wild with crimes of a capital nature.

These two persons were John Follard, and Thomas Butler.

In April, 1725, Follard was indicted for privately stealing from Robert Hall, a bank note for 56l. on the 23d of December, 1724. He was a second time indicted for stealing a gold watch and chain, value 25l. from a person unknown, on the 1st of February, 1724-5. To both these indictments he pleaded guilty, and the same day pleaded to his majesty's pardon.

Butler had been lately committed for *preaching the parson*, alias, *the passing-lay*. He likewise obtained the King's pardon, and pleaded to it the same day.

It was expected that these two would afterwards have been evidences against Jonathan Wild, but he saved them that trouble by committing a felony, while he was a prisoner in Newgate, as we shall soon see.

On Saturday the 10th of April, (the last day of the sessions) he moved by council that his trial might be deferred 'till the next sessions; and an affidavit made by himself was read in court, the purport of which was, "That the last night he was accidentally informed, that the grand jury had found a bill against him for felony, but he knew not what felony, since which he had not had time sufficient to procure his witnesses, without whom he was unable to make his defence; one of them living near Brentford, and another in Somersetshire."

The council for the crown opposed this motion. They urged, that, as he was in custody, he could not but expect his trial to come on at the ensuing sessions, and therefore ought to have been prepared for it. That, if the single affidavit of a prisoner in such a case might pass, no body would want excuses, and any trial hereafter might be put off by the same rule.

—That

—That he had not so much as named his witnesses; and though he says in his affidavit, that he knows not what he is indicted for, yet he swears that these are material witnesses.

The prisoner then said, that the names of the witnesses were — Hays, at the Pack-horse, at Turnham-Green, and — Wilson, a clothier in Froom; and that, though he did not know particularly what he was indicted for, yet he had heard, that it was something about one — Stetham. And his council moved, that the names might be put into the affidavit, and that he might swear it over again.

To this the council for the King replied, That justice would never be denied him, but he stood entitled to no favours; and that they were not sure, that the two persons, who had pleaded to their pardons, would be to be found at the next sessions.

But some of the gentlemen upon the bench appearing willing that the prisoner should be allowed time 'till the following sessions, to prepare for his defence, the court told him, they had no more to say to him, on which he bowed, and answered, "I thank your lordship, and am very glad of it."

Follard and Butler were bound each in a recognizance of 500l. to appear at the next sessions.

On the morning of Saturday May 15, 1725, *Jonathan Wild* was indicted for privately stealing in the shop of Catherine Stetham, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, 50 yards of lace, value 40l. the goods of Catherine Stetham, on the 22d of January, 1724-5.

He was a second time indicted, for that whereas 50 yards of lace, value 40l. were privately stolen in the shop of Catherine Stetham, by persons unknown to the jurors, on the 22d of January, 1724-5, he, the said Jonathan Wild, afterwards, that is to say, on the 10th of March, in the same year, feloniously did receive of the said Catherine, ten guineas on account,
and

and under colour of helping her to the said lace again, and did not then, or at any time since, discover, apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, and prosecute the felon who stole the said lace.

In the morning, before his trial came on, the prisoner dispersed among the jurymen, and several others who were then walking on the leads before the court, a considerable number of printed papers; of which the following is a copy.

“ A LIST of the persons discovered, apprehended,
 “ and convicted of several robberies on the high-
 “ way; and also for burglaries and house-break-
 “ ings; and also the several persons here-under
 “ named, for returning from transportation, by
 “ JONATHAN WILD, as followeth :

“ Robbing on the highway 35.

“ Edward Spencer, and Joseph Hutton,—For af-
 “ faulting, wounding and robbing two persons near
 “ Fleet-bridge, the time of the hard frost. The fa-
 “ ther and son, named Hutchins, a gunsmith, in the
 “ Minories.

“ William White, Thomas Thurland, Timothy
 “ Dun, and Darvill, alias Chapman.—For assaulting
 “ Thomas Middlethwaite, Esq; on the highway, with
 “ an intent to rob him; and afterwards assaulting and
 “ murdering Mrs. Knapp, and robbing her son, and
 “ several other robberies.

“ Footman, alias Goodman, and Thomas Smith,
 “ —For robbing 'squire Wetherington upon Epping
 “ Forest, of his watch, money, and horse.

“ Henry Checkley,—For robbing a gentleman liv-
 “ ing at Oxford, at a bookseller's, in an alley, by St.
 “ Paul's Church-yard, leading to Pater-noster-Row,
 “ of his watch and pocket-book, wherein was a bank
 “ note of a considerable value.

“ John

“ John Holmar, and James Wilton,—For robbing
“ a sailor of eleven guineas and a half, in Warwick-
“ lane.

“ John Wigley, and James Reading,—For robbing
“ Mr. Conyers, in Islington, of a silver watch, a
“ silver pair of spurs, and some money.

“ John Dykes,—For robbing William Smith, in
“ Stepney-Fields, of a silver watch, a silver pair of
“ buckles, coat, hat, wig, and some money.

“ John Eaton, and Thomas Piggot,—For robbing
“ Elizabeth Knowles, of goods to the value of 11l.

“ William Williams, and John Thomas,—For
“ robbing Richard Arnold on the highway, a baker,
“ in Spittal-fields.

“ Thomas James,—For robbing Mr. Maud, a
“ druggist, in the Strand, of some money and a
“ ring.

“ Thomas Sinnament, and William Colthurst,—
“ For robbing Mr. Hearl, and others, on Hounslow-
“ heath.

“ Butler Fox,—For robbing Sir Edward Lawrence.

“ James Shaw, alias Smith, alias Thompson,—For
“ the murder of Mr. Potts, receiver of the window-
“ lights, taken by others for robbing, but convicted
“ by me for the murder.

“ Jeremiah Rann,—For assaulting and robbing a
“ clockmaker's servant of a clock, who lives in Lom-
“ bard-Street.

“ James Lincoln, and Robert Wilkinson,—For
“ robbing and killing a pensioner, near Buckingham-
“ wall.

“ John Levee, and Matthew Flood,—For robbing
“ Esquire Young, and Colonel Cope, on the Hamp-
“ stead Road.

“ Richard Oakey,—For robbing Mr. Betts, a
“ carpenter, near Fig-lane.

“ James Butler, and William Duefe, (the prosecutor found out by me,)—For assaulting and robbing Mr. Holmes, a School-master, of Chelsea, and at the same time attacked my Lady Chidley’s coach but came off with the loss of one of their comrades, whose name was Rice.

“ Humphry Angier,—For robbing Martin Lewin, late City-Marshall, near Highgate.

“ John Herington,—For robbing Dr. Vasey, in Leicester-Fields.

“ Edward Joice,—For robbing a gentlewoman by Exchange-Alley, who lives in Mugwell-street.

House-Breaking, 22.

“ William Rigelsden, and Elizabeth Shirley,—For breaking into a dwelling house, adjoining to the Banqueting-house, and stole from the communion-table a silver candlestick.

“ William Hoskins, and John Parrot,—For robbing the shop of Mr. Downes, a Hosier, the corner of Northumberland-Court in the Strand, of silk hose and other things to a great value ; and also for robbing the Bishop of Norwich’s house, of goods to a great value.

“ John Fairbone.—For robbing a brewhouse, near Brick-lane, in White-chapel ; of a considerable sum of money.

“ John Allen, and John Chance,—For robbing a gentleman’s house, near Hammersmith parish, of goods and wearing apparel to a great value.

“ Robert Evans, and John Latheringington,—For breaking the house of Major Harding, and several of his neighbours, in Strutton-grounds, Westminster, of divers goods of great value.

“ Samuel West,—For robbing Mr. Gumbleton’s house, near the New-Exchange in the Strand, of plate, and other goods of great value.

“ Samuel

“ Samuel Davis and Thomas Draper,—For robbing a Linnen-Draper’s shop in Aldersgate-street, of several parcels of goods.

“ Henry Browne,—For robbing Mr. Lambe near Hackney, and several others in the same parish, of goods to a great value.

“ John Harris,—For robbing the house of William Taylor, and several other houses in Shoreditch parish, of divers goods to a great value.

“ John Wheeler,—For robbing Mr. Clay’s house at Egham, of goods to a great value.

“ James Harvey, and a person called Cock-eyed Jack,—For robbing a Weaver’s house in the Park, Southwark, of goods to a great value.

“ Arnold Powell,—For robbing a Glass-grinder’s house, near Fleet-Bridge, of goods to a great value.

“ Thomas Eades and Thomas Wynne,—For breaking the house of a Shoemaker, near the Old-Mint, in Southwark, and taking goods to a great value.

“ John Sheppard and Joseph Blake,—For breaking the house of Mr. Kneebone, a Woollen Draper, near the New Church in the Strand, and robbing the same of goods to a great value.

Returning from Transportation, 10.

“ James Filewood, alias Violet, William Bond, Charles Hinchman, Samuel Whittle, Martin Gray, William Holaday, Robert Godfrey, alias Perkins, Old Harry, alias Henry Williams, Henry Woodford, John Meffe.

“ The persons under-written, taken by the said Jonathan Wild, for returning from transportation, have received mercy, and been transported again. John Mason, Edward Catornes, Sarah Wells, Wil-

“ liam Smith, John Hall, Thomas Stanton, James
 “ Dalton, Mary King, and John Jones.

“ Note, several others have been also convicted for
 “ the like crimes, but, remembering not the persons
 “ names who have been robbed, I omit the crimi-
 “ nals names.

“ Please to observe, that several others have been
 “ also convicted for shop-lifting, picking of pockets,
 “ &c. by the female sex, which are capital crimes,
 “ and which are too tedious to be inserted here, and
 “ the prosecutors not willing of being exposed.

“ In regard therefore of the numbers above con-
 “ victed, some, that have yet escaped justice, are en-
 “ deavouring to take away the life of the said

“ JONATHAN WILD.”

—The prisoner being brought to the bar, and the jury being seated, the council for the King took notice of the prisoner's extraordinary proceeding, in relation to the above mentioned papers: that such practices were unwarrantable, and not to be suffered in any court of justice: that this was apparently intended to take off the credit of the King's witnesses, and prepossess and influence the jury. Though, as he believed them to be men of integrity, he was under no apprehensions that it would have such effect, but that they would give a conscientious verdict according to evidence; and that whatever the prisoner might hope for, from such indirect management, it was far from making his cause appear in a more favourable light.

That it was impossible, but that a man who had trained up, and erected a corporation of thieves; a man who had carried on a trade of felony for so many years, and made it his constant known practice to procure goods that had been lost in any part of the town, must have had it in his power to de-
 tect

test those felons he was concerned with: and yet, that there was good reason to believe, that, (to the great scandal of public justice) he had intimidated many from reformation, and prevented them from making such discoveries, as might have been of public advantage. That if a strict enquiry was to be made, after the motives of his apprehending and convicting those criminals, named in his list, we might find they were private interest, old grudges, or fresh quarrels, and not the good of his country, or a regard for public justice.

The prisoner prayed, that the witnesses against him might be examined a-part; which the court granted.

First Indictment, for stealing the Lace.

Henry Kelly * deposed, that on Friday the 22d of January last, he went to visit Mrs. Johnston, who then lived at the prisoner's house; that he found her at home, and they drank a quartern of gin together. By and by came in Peg Murphey, with a pair of brocaded shoes and clogs, and made a present of them to Mrs. Wild, the prisoner's wife. The prisoner was in company with them at the same time, and when they had drank two or three quarterns more, Murphey and this deponent got up to go away together. The prisoner asked them which way they were going? and this deponent said, "to my lodging at the "Seven Dials." "I suppose," says he, "you go along "Holbourn!" they answered, "Yes." "Why then," says he, "I'll tell you what,—There's an old blind "bitch, that keeps a shop within twenty yards of "Holbourn-bridge, and sells fine Flanders lace; and "her daughter is as blind as herself: now, if you'll

* This Kelly was convicted in July, 1724, of uttering a gilt King Edward's shilling, for a broad-piece.

“ take the trouble of calling upon her, you may
 “ speak with a box of lace.—I’ll go along with you,
 “ and shew you the door.”

The court asked Kelly what was meant by speaking with a box of lace?

To which he answered, to speak with a thing, is to steal it.—So they agreed, and the prisoner, this deponent and Murphey, went together, till they came within sight of the shop, and then he pointed, and shewed them which it was, “ and,” says he, “ do
 “ you go, and I’ll wait here, and bring ye off, if any
 “ disturbance should happen.”

Murphey and this deponent went in, and turned over several parcels of lace, but could not find that which would please them; for it was their business to be mighty nice and difficult: this piece was too broad, that was too narrow, and the other not fine enough. At last the old woman went up stairs to fetch another piece, and in the mean time this deponent took a tin box of lace, and gave it to Murphey, who put it under her cloak. The old woman came down again with another box, and shewed them several more pieces; but they could not agree about the price, and so they came away, and found the prisoner where they had left him, and told him they had *spoke*.

They all went back to his house, where they opened the box, and found eleven pieces in it. He asked them if they would have ready money, or stay till an advertisement came out? stock was pretty low with them at that time, and so they chose ready money, and he gave them three guineas, and four broad pieces. “ I cannot afford to give any more,” said he, “ for she is a hard-mouthed old bitch, and
 “ I shall never get above ten guineas out of her.”

This deponent took the three guineas and a crown for his own share, and Murphey had the rest.

Margaret

Margaret Murphey * deposed that she had known the prisoner three years—That on the 22d of January last, about two o'clock in the afternoon, she went to his house to present his wife with a rich pair of shoes and clogs, and there she found Kelly and Johnston with the prisoner and his wife. They were drinking Hollands geneva, and she sat down and drank with them. When she had staid about an hour, Kelly and she got up to go away together. The prisoner enquired whither they were going? They told him to the Seven-Dials. “Then,” said he,—“There is an
 “old blind bitch, that keeps a lace shop hard by
 “Holborn-bridge, and she has got a daughter as
 “blind as herself, so that if you will call there, you
 “may easily *speake* with a box or two of lace.—I will
 “go with you, and shew you the door, and then
 “wait at a little distance to bring you off, if any
 “thing should happen.” So they all went. He shewed them the shop, they left him, and stept in. The old woman and her daughter were both there. They cheapened some lace, and turned over several parcels, but were so difficult, that none they saw would please them. At last the old gentlewoman went up stairs for another parcel, and left only the daughter and them in the shop: the daughter turning her head aside, Kelly took a tin-box of lace, which at first he put under the skirt of his coat, and then handed it to this deponent. The old woman came down, and shewed them another parcel. They pitched upon a piece, and she asked 5s. a yard, but they bid her four. She would not take it, and so they came away, and found the prisoner where they had left him, and told him what success they had met with. They all went back to his house. He took them up stairs, where they opened the box, and found eleven pieces of lace in it. He asked them if

* She was hanged, March 27, 1728, for stealing a silver salt and a silver tea-pot.

they

they would have the *cole*, that is, the *money* then, or stay to see what reward would be offered in an advertisement. They chose ready money, and so he gave them three guineas and four broad pieces. “ I cannot afford to give any more,” said he, “ for, though I have got some influence over her, by helping her to goods two or three times before, yet I know her to be such a stingy old bitch, that I shall not get above ten guineas out of her.”

Catherine Stetham, the elder, deposed that on the 22d of January, between three and four in the afternoon, a man and a woman came into her shop, on pretence of buying some lace for stocks. She shewed them two or three parcels, but they were so difficult, that nothing she had below would please them : and so, leaving her daughter in the shop, she went up stairs, and brought down another box. They said that would do, and demanded the price. She asked them 6s. a yard. They would give her four. She told them she could not take it, and so they went out ; and, in about three hours afterwards, she missed a tin box of lace, which she valued at 50l.

The prisoner's council (who attended to speak to any point that should arise) now begged leave to observe, that according to the evidence given against the prisoner, he could not, in their opinion, be guilty of the indictment, because the indictment sets forth, that HE did privately steal the lace IN the shop ; when it was certain, that he did not enter the shop. That he might be guilty of a single felony, in being accessory before the fact, or in receiving the goods afterwards, knowing them to have been stolen ; but could not, as they apprehended, be guilty of the capital offence, except (as the act directs) it had been inserted in the indictment, that he did “ assist, command, or hire.”

“ The court, in summing up the evidence, observed to the jury, that in other cases, as in robberies

ries and burglaries, an accessory before the fact, is a principal. He that stands by, or watches at a distance, being as guilty, and as liable to the same punishment, as the very person who enters the house, or steals the money or goods ; but, as it was not remembered, that there had yet been any precedent of the like construction, being put upon indictments of this nature, it remained a matter of doubt, and therefore in such a case, it was most eligible to incline to the side of mercy.

The second Indictment. For taking money on pretence of restoring the stolen goods, and not prosecuting the Felon.

The indictment being opened by the council for the King, the court ordered the clerk to read the following clause of an act of parliament made in the fourth year of his late majesty King George I. on which the indictment was founded.

Clerk reads.—“ And whereas, there are divers persons, who have secret acquaintance with felons, and who make it their business to help persons to their stolen goods, and by that means gain money from them, which is divided between them and the felons, whereby they greatly encourage such offenders. Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that wherever any person taketh money or reward, directly or indirectly, under pretence, or upon account of helping any person or persons to any stolen goods or chattels, every such person so taking money or reward as aforesaid, (unless such person do apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, such felon, who stole the same, and give evidence against him) shall be guilty of felony, according to the nature of the felony committed in stealing such goods and in such and the same manner, as if such offender had stolen such goods and chattels, in the manner

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“ ner, and with such circumstances as the same were
“ stolen.”

Catherine Stetham the elder deposed, that on the 22d of January last, in the afternoon, a box of lace, which she valued at 50l. was stolen out of her shop. She went the same night to the prisoner's house to enquire after it, but not finding him at home, she advertised the lace she had lost, with a reward of fifteen guineas, and no question to be asked. But, hearing no news of it, she went to the prisoner's house again, and then she met with him. He desired her to give him a description of the persons she suspected, which she did as well as she could. Upon this he promised to make enquiry, and bid her call again in two or three days ; she did so, and then he said he had heard something of her lace, and expected to hear more in a little time. While they were talking, a man came in, and said, that by what he had learned, he believed that one Kelly, who had been tried for putting off gilded shillings, was concerned in stealing the lace. Mrs. Stetham now went away, and came again on that day the prisoner was apprehended. —She told him, that though she had advertised but fifteen guineas reward, she would give twenty, or five and twenty, rather than not have her lace again. “ Do not be in such a hurry, good woman,” said he, “ perhaps I may help you to it for less, and if I can “ I will. The persons that have your lace are gone “ out of town : I shall set them a quarreling about “ it, and then I shall get it the cheaper.”

On the 10th of March, he sent her word, that if she would come to him in Newgate, and bring ten guineas in her pocket, he could help her to her lace. When she went, he desired her to call a porter, but she telling him she knew not where to find one, he sent out a person who brought a man that appeared to be a ticket-porter. The prisoner gave her a letter, which he said was sent to him, as a direction where
to

to go for the lace ; but, as she could not read, she delivered it to the porter ; after which the prisoner bid her give the porter ten guineas, or else, he said, the persons, who had the lace, would not deliver it. She gave the porter the money, and he went away, and in a little while returned with a box sealed up, but it was not the same that she had lost. She opened it, and found all her lace, except one piece. “ Now, Mr. Wild,” said she, “ what must I give you “ for your trouble ? ” — “ Not a farthing, Madam,” said he, “ not a single farthing ; I do not do these “ things for worldly interest, but for the benefit of “ poor people who have met with misfortunes. As “ for the piece of lace that is missing, I would not “ have ye be uneasy, for I hope to get it for you “ ere it is long ; nay, and I do not know, but in a “ little time, I may not only help you to your ten “ guineas again, but to the thief too. And, if I “ can, much good may do you ; and, as you are a “ widow, and a good Christian, I desire nothing of “ you but your prayers, and for them I shall be “ thankful. I have a great many enemies, and God “ knows what may be the consequence of this im- “ prisonment.”

Here the prisoner said he hoped the court would consider the service he had done, in convicting a great number of criminals ; and desired that Murphey and Kelly might be called in again, and that he might ask them a question or two.

To this the court said, let them come in, — Now, what is your question ?

Prisoner. Mrs. Murphey, I desire to know —

Court. You must not propose your question to the witness, but to the court ; and, if your question is proper, the court will require the witness to answer it.

Prisoner. I beg your lordship will ask her, who stole the lace ?

Court. That is not a proper question, for, as she is upon oath, we cannot require her to answer any questions to accuse herself.

Prisoner. She swore upon the first indictment, that—

Court. Whatever she swore upon that trial, we cannot take notice of it upon this, except she was now to swear it over again, which we cannot require her to do.

The King's Council then said, this indictment is laid for taking money of Catherine Stetham, under pretence of helping her to goods that had been stolen by persons UNKNOWN, and the prisoner would now ask the witness, "Who stole those goods?—

The prisoner said he would ask her then if he stole the lace? to which Murphey replied, No, but he was concerned with those that did steal it, and he received it after it was stolen.

The prisoner's council now begged leave to observe, that as Murphey had sworn the prisoner guilty of a felony, in being concerned with those who stole the goods, they presumed that the act upon which he was now indicted, was never intended to affect him, or any other felon, but only such persons as were not felons themselves, but held a correspondence with felons. For as there were old laws in force for the punishment of felons, it would have been wholly unnecessary, that a new law should be made to the same purpose,—that is, to no purpose at all.—That the very preamble to the clause of the act on which the prisoner stands indicted, intimates, by a plain distinction, that felons are not in that place intended. The words are these, "Whereas there
 "are several persons who have secret acquaintance
 "with Felons, and who make it their business to
 "help persons to their stolen goods, and by that
 "means gain money from them, which is divid-
 "ed between THEM and the FELONS."
 —That,

—That, by a proviso in the said clause, it could not be supposed, that felons were then intended, without making contradictions and inconsistencies in the act itself. For the words are, “ Unless such person doth apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, such felon to be brought to trial for the same, and give evidence against him.” Suppose now there was but one person concerned in such a case, can it ever be thought, that the legislature intended that this very person should apprehend himself, bring himself to a trial, and give evidence against himself;—No, certainly.

To this the council for the crown replied, That it was no absurdity or contradiction to say, that the act was intended to affect the felons; for that a man's being a felon did not any way hinder him from discovering his accomplices, if he had any: and as to the supposition, that a felon had no accomplices, but committed the felony by himself, it was out of the present question, and no way relating to the prisoner's case, for it was evident, that he had accomplices, and had not discovered them.

It was farther observed by the court, that felons were so far from being excepted in the act, that it was principally intended against them, for it particularly mentions, “ those that make it their business to help people to stolen goods.” And it was certain, that such persons must be receivers of stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen, “ and such are felons.” That the case of the prisoner came within almost every circumstance of the act, it being evident, that “ He was the person who had secret acquaintance with felons, who made it his business to help people to their stolen goods, and by that means gained money from them, which was divided between him and the felons, and thereby greatly encouraged such offenders, and had not apprehended them.” That it was a very surprizing
ing

ing plea for a man to say, I am more guilty than you are aware of, and therefore I ought to suffer the less: and that it could never be thought, that the parliament intended by this act to excuse a man merely because he was a felon, and more criminal than another.

The jury acquitted the prisoner of the first indictment, and found him guilty of the second, in consequence of which he received sentence of death.

Particulars of the Life of Jonathan Wild.

THIS remarkable offender was born at Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, about the year 1682. He was the eldest son of his parents; his father was a Carpenter, and had the character of an honest industrious man. At about fifteen years of age Jonathan, having made some progress at school in writing and arithmetic, was bound apprentice to a Buckle-maker at Birmingham.

When his time was expired, he married an honest woman at Wolverhampton, by whom he had one son; but they had not been married two years, before Jonathan took it into his head to leave his wife and child, and come up to London. He had been but a few months in town before he ran himself so far in debt, that he was arrested, and thrown into Woodstreet Compter.

He says himself (in a pamphlet, of which we shall give some account hereafter) that, “ By misfortunes
“ in the world, he was subject to the discipline of
“ the Compter, for above the space of four years,
“ during which time it was impossible, but he must
“ be in some measure let into the secrets of the
“ criminals there under confinement; and particular-
“ ly Mr. Hitchen’s management.”

In this place he contracted a close intimacy with one Mary Milliner, a common street-walker. She had

had run round the whole circle of vice, knew all the ways of the town, and most of its felonious inhabitants.

At length they both obtained their liberty; soon after which it was reported, that they were made one flesh.—But without the help of a parson.—The first business they went upon together was that of the Buttock and Twang, or, in other words, the Whore and Bully. They had not followed this trade long, before they met with some pretty good booties, which enabled them to take a little house in Cock-Alley, opposite Cripplegate church.

Jonathan by his own industry, and his Help-mate's assistance, was by this time acquainted with all the Prigs of any note within the bills of mortality, and he had cunning enough to dive into all their secrets. He soon knew their usual haunts, what Lays they went upon, how they proceeded, and in what manner they disposed of their stolen goods; and, in consequence of this knowledge, he had their lives in his power, and, from a confident, became a director.

Formerly, when a thief had got a prize, he could easily find people enough to take it off his hands, at something less than the real value; for the law had then provided no punishment for the receivers. But, after the legislature had passed an act, which made it felony to receive stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen, a considerable stop was put to this practice. Those few that continued it were obliged to act very cautiously, and, as they ran great hazards, they insisted upon such extravagant profits, that the thieving trade was in danger of being ruined.

Wild, however, contrived a scheme that gave new life to the business; and, convening some of his chief Prigs, he addressed them to the following purpose.

“ You

“ You know, my bloods, that as *trade* goes at pre-
 “ sent, you stand but a *queer* chance; for, when you
 “ have *made* any thing, if you carry it to the *Fenc-*
 “ *ing Culls* and *Flash Pawn-brokers*, these unconscio-
 “ nable dealers in *contraband* goods will hardly *tip*
 “ ye a quarter of what it is worth; and, if ye offer
 “ it to a stranger, it’s ten to one but you are *habbled*.
 “ So that there’s no such thing as a man’s living by
 “ his labour; for, if he don’t like to be half-starved,
 “ he must run the hazard of being *scragged*, which,
 “ let me tell you, is a damned hard case.—Now, if
 “ you will take my advice, I will put you in a way
 “ to remedy all this—when you have been upon any
 “ *lay*, and *spoke* to some purpose, let me know the
 “ particulars; and I will engage to *pay-back* the goods
 “ to the *Cull* that owns them, and raise you more
 “ *Cole* upon that account, than you can expect from
 “ the rascally *Fencers*; and at the same time take
 “ care that you shall be all *Bowmen*.”

This was received with general approbation, and
 immediately put in practice. No sooner was a rob-
 bery committed, but Jonathan was informed what
 the goods were, when, how, and from whom they
 were taken. The goods were deposited in some con-
 venient place, but not in his own house; for, at his
 first setting up the business, he acted very cautiously,
 though afterwards he grew daring. When things were
 thus prepared, away goes Jonathan, or the woman, to
 the persons who had been plundered, and addresses
 them to this purpose.

“ I happened to hear that you have lately been
 “ robbed, and a friend of mine, an honest broker,
 “ having stopped a parcel of goods upon suspicion,
 “ I thought I could do no less than give you notice
 “ of it, as not knowing but some of them might be
 “ yours, and, if it should prove so, (as I wish it may)
 “ you may have them again, provided that no body

“ is

“ is brought into trouble, and the broker has something in consideration of his care.”

As people who have been robbed are willing to recover their goods with as little trouble as possible, it is no wonder if they easily fell into Jonathan's measures. But if (as it sometimes happened) the person was too inquisitive, “ Sir, (says Jonathan) I only come to serve you, and, if you think otherwise, I must let you know, that you are mistaken; I have told you, that some goods being offered to pawn by a suspected person, the broker had the honesty to stop them; and therefore, Sir, if you question me about thieves, I have nothing to say to you, but that I can give a good account of myself; my name is Wild, and I live in Cock-Alley by Cripplegate, where you may find me any day in the week; and so, Sir, your humble servant.” By this affected resentment, he seldom failed of bringing the injured person to treat with him upon his own terms, which on such occasions he commonly advanced.

Now, as Jonathan had his profits out of what was paid to the broker, he took no money of those to whom he restored the goods, by which management he kept up a tolerable reputation, and at the same time there was no law in being that could affect him.

But soon becoming eminent in his profession, he altered some of his measures. He no longer applied to those who had lost any thing, but they were obliged to apply to him, if they expected his assistance, and he received them in his office with much formality.

At their entrance it was hinted to them, that they must deposit a crown as a fee for his advice. This being done, he demanded their names, where they lived, when and how they were robbed, if they suspected any persons, and what kind of persons

they were; the particular goods that were lost, and what reward would be given if the goods were returned.

These articles being known, were entered in a book he kept for that purpose, and then the persons were assured that a careful enquiry should be made, and, if they called again in two or three days, he might possibly give them some intelligence.

When they came according to appointment, and desired to know what success he had met with? "Why indeed," (says Jonathan) "I have heard something of your goods, but the person I sent to enquire tells me, that the rogues pretend they can pawn them for more than you offer, and therefore, if ever they make restitution, it must be upon better terms.—However, if I can but once come to the speech of the rascals, I don't question but I shall bring them to reason."

If this did not always prevail with the owners of the goods, to offer an additional reward, it served at least to enhance their obligations to Jonathan, by making them imagine he used them very kindly, and took a great deal of pains, if, after their attending two or three times more, he helped them to their goods again.

Wild had always some advantage or other by examining so minutely into the circumstances of a robbery. If, as was often the case, he knew as much of the matter before-hand, as those who came for his assistance could tell him, his enquiries then served to amuse them, and prevent their suspecting his consciousness: but, if he had not already been let into the whole, or any part of the secret, the exact information he received by these means, was such a check upon the thieves, that they seldom dared to conceal any thing from him; and, if they did, or refused to accept of his terms, it was at their peril.

Shop-

Shop-books, pocket-books, accompts, and other writings, which were formerly looked upon as things of no use but to the owners, and consequently not worth stealing, were now become articles of considerable advantage to the thief, and more to the receiver. Trifling curiosities, toys and trinkets, would fetch more by being returned to the proprietors, than any body else would give for them.

Jonathan now appeared with a sword by his side, and the first use that we find he made of it, was in an engagement with the wife of his bosom.—She had some time so provoked him to wrath, that he swore he would mark her for a bitch, and thereupon drawing his sword, he cut off one of her ears.—This occasioned a divorce; but, however, Jonathan, in a grateful consideration of the service she had done him, by bringing him into so large an acquaintance, and assisting him in his business, allowed her a weekly pension as long as she lived.

But, to look a little back, we must here observe, that, before Jonathan made any great figure, he was for some time an assistant to Charles Hitchen, the City-Marshall, in searching infamous houses, and apprehending disorderly persons.

When they had been some time concerned in promoting so blessed a work, these hopeful reformers fell to loggerheads about one another's honesty, and so they parted; and each of them separately pursued the business of thief-taking.

In the same year, 1715, Jonathan left his house in Cock-Alley, and took lodgings at Mrs. Seagoe's in the Old-Bailey, where he went on in his own calling successfully, notwithstanding the Marshall's opposition. The Marshall was greatly enraged, and rashly vowed that he would expose Jonathan's rogueries, and make him *ashamed* to shew his face. Jonathan defied him to do his worst. The Marshall went to work, and, in the year 1718, published a

most stupid pamphlet. under the title of, “ The
 “ Regulator: Or, a discovery of the thieves, thief-
 “ taker, and locks, — in and about the city of Lon-
 “ don, with the thief taker’s proclamation: also an
 “ account of all the flash words now in vogue among
 “ the thieves, &c.

As in this pamphlet, and Jonathan’s answer to it, there are several passages relating to his conduct, which are no where else to be met with, we shall make several extracts from each. And as some knowledge in the Canting Dialect is necessary to the understanding of those passages, it may be proper to begin with the Marshal’s list of Flash Words.

The Rumbo, or the Whit. Newgate.
The Spinning Ken. Bridewell.
Old Nafs. London-Bridewell.
A Ken. A House.
A Boozing Ken. An Alehouse.
A Case, or a Flash Ken. A house frequented by Thieves.
Autum. A Church.
The Mount. London-Bridge.
The Nubbing Cheat. The Gallows.
A Jigger. A Door.
The Dancers. The Stairs.
The Glaze. The Window.
The Quod Cull. The Turnkey.
A Buzz, or a Prig. A Thief.
A Cove, or Cull. A Man—*Cull* is likewise frequently used to signify a fool.
The Baggage Man. He that carries off the booty.
A Fence, or a Lock. A Receiver of stolen Goods.
A Mill Ken. A House-breaker.
A File. A Pick-pocket.
A Flash Cull. One that keeps company with Thieves.
A Bridle-Cull. A Highwayman.

A Lift.

A Lift. A Shop-lifter, one that steals goods in a shop under pretence of buying them.

A Shop Sneak. One that watches an opportunity to get into a shop unseen, and steal the goods.

The Morning Sneak. To walk betimes about the streets in the morning, and, if you see any body come out of doors, you then slip in and take what you can find.

The Running Smabble. To run into a shop at night, blow out the candle, and snatch up any thing that you can carry off.

The Foot Scamperer. A Foot Pad.

The Waggon Lay. Stealing goods out of waggons at an inn, or on the road.

The Rattling Lay. Stealing goods out of coaches as they pass along the streets.

The Service Lay. Hiring themselves for servants in order to rob the house.

The Question Lay. To knock at a door early in the morning and ask for the master of the house, and, if he is in bed, to desire the servant not to disturb him, for you will wait till he rises, and so you take an opportunity of stealing something.

The Kid Lay. Is, when you see a boy or a porter with a bundle, to desire him to go of an errand for you, telling him you will take care of his goods the while; but, as soon as he is out of sight, you make off with the booty.

The Dub-Lay. Picking Pockets.

To go upon the Top. Is when two Prigs are together, one gets upon the other's shoulders, and so enters a chamber-window.

A Tail Drawer. He that steals a man's sword from his side.

A Queer Cull. One that puts off bad money.

A Cruiser. A Beggar.

A Lappy

- A Lappy Cull.* A Drunken Man.
An Old Gager. A Rich old Man.
A Bulk or Gammon. He that jostles a man, while another picks his pocket.
A Scout Cull. A Watchman.
A Harman. A Constable.
To Bundle the Cull of the Ken. To tie the Man of the House neck and Heels.
To Slum the Ken. To break the House.
To Strike the Gigg. To unlock the Door.
To Lope the Dancers. To go up Stairs.
To Lope off. To Run away
The Cull is Peery. The Man is sly.
The Cull comes down. He puts his hand in his pocket.
The Cull gigs. The Man looks.
A Buttock. A Street-walker.
A Buttock and File. A Pick-pocket Whore.
A Twang. A Bully.
A Trap. He that after a *Buttock and File*, has bit a *Cull* of his pocket book, makes it his business to find out where the man lives, and extort money from him to prevent his being exposed.
To Pay-back. To return stolen goods.
A Push. A Crowd of People.
A Pushing Tout. A Thief's Watchman or Scout, one that carries intelligence of a Push.
A Boman Prig. A bold or dexterous Thief, a sure Rogue.
All's Bowman. All is safe.
To speak. To steal.
To Fisk. To search.
To Whiddle. To make a noise, confess or impeach.
To shove the Tumbler. To be whipped at the Cart's Tail.

To be Glimmed. *To be Burnt in the Hand.*

To be Topped or Scragged. *To be Hanged.*

Darbies. *Fetters.*

A Dub, or Tilt. *A Pick-lock Key.*

A Glim. *A Candle.*

A Glimstick. *A Candlestick, or Dark Lanthorn.*

A Bess, or Betty. *A small Iron Crow.*

Pops. *Pistols.*

A Pad. *A Bed.*

Dudds. *Linnen.*

A Mish. *A Shirt.*

Stock-Drawers. *Stockings.*

Stampers. *Shoes.*

A Poll, or Catsing. *A Wig.*

A Shap. *A Hat.*

A Tye. *A Neckcloth.*

Famstrings. *Gloves.*

A Clank. *A Tankard.*

A Beaker. *A Silver Tankard.*

Feeders. *Spoons.*

A Maufe. *A Bundle.*

A Wipe, or Clout. *A Handkerchief.*

A Lobb. *A Snuff-box, or any other box.*

A Bit or Truff. *A Purse.*

A Reader. *A Pocket-book.*

A Tail. *A Sword.*

A Chive. *A Knife.*

A Loge. *A Watch.*

A Toge. *A Coat.*

A Peter. *A Trunk, or Portmanteau.*

A Jacob. *A Ladder.*

A Rum Fam. *A Gold Ring.*

A Tumbler. *A Cart, or Waggon.*

A Rattler. *A Coach.*

A Boufer. *A Dog.*

A Finny. *A Funeral.*

Ridge. *Gold.*

Wedge. *Silver.*

The Tattler is up. The Moon shines.

Boned, or Habbled, or Snabbled. Taken.

The Munge. The Dark.

An Abstract of the City Marshal's Account of Jonathan Wild, &c. with some amendments as to the stile.

IF these should hold their peace, the stones in the street would cry out of such abominable practices, as are committed and carried on in this city and places adjacent, by thieves and robbers, and—thief-takers.

One thief-taker brought to justice, is more for the advantage of the city, than a hundred thieves; and in order thereto, I shall here take notice of only one of the afore said felonious practices, taking it for granted, that all the rest are of the same management; to wit, a gentlewoman, as she was passing along in the evening in a coach, on the South-side of St. Paul's Church-yard, was there, in a most audacious and barbarous manner, robbed to a considerable value, by three of the most notorious rogues, Will Matthews, Christopher Matthews, and Obadiah Lemon, (who agreed to make himself an evidence) that ever this kingdom was plagued with; which being discovered and sought after, in order to bring them to justice for so doing, the Thief-taker hearing of the same, and fearing that he might by this means lose three of the most profitable customers which belonged to his felonious shop, immediately summoned the three afore said offenders to a friendly conference, where it was unanimously agreed that the only way to save them, at this critical juncture, was, for one of them to make himself an evidence, &c. "Well then," saith the Thief-taker, "in order to
"blind the justice, and that he may take the infor-
"mation, is to induce him to believe that we are
"doing something for the good of the public: there-
"fore,

fore, you must put into the information a numerous train of offenders which have been concerned with you, either in robberies, or buying, or receiving of your stolen goods; and at the same time you must be sure to promise him, the said justice, that you will convict them all: and, that there may be a perfect harmony between us, you shall hear me, your Counsellor, your Thief-taker, and Factor, promise as faithfully that I will apprehend, take, and bring them to justice for the same. But, by the bye, I must give you this caution, to leave out the sixty dozen of handkerchiefs that were taken by Mr. Ridley, from a Dyer's servant, whom they sent on a sham errand, for which handkerchiefs I received thirty guineas from the owner, but gave Oakey, Lemon, and Mr. Johnson but ten guineas. That you do not put such and such robberies into the information, because I was employed by the persons that you robbed, to get their goods again, and, they not bidding money enough for the same, they were not returned to the right owner. Therefore, you know such must be left out, otherwise I shall bring my own neck into the noose, and put it in the power of every little prig, as well as others, to pull the cord at their pleasure; and, upon such terms, who the devil would be your factor?"

Let us now see what is the consequence of this *skittish* and felonious information; but deceiving the magistrate, and letting the three aforesaid notorious offenders escape the hand of justice, and hanging up a couple of sham thieves (Hugh Oakley and Henry Chickley) which he got little or nothing by, in their room: and likewise to give the Thief-taker an opportunity to rob or extort a sum of money out of all the rest in the information, by making up and compounding the felonies with them, which,

by a modest computation, cannot amount to less than a hundred pounds, or more, &c.

Then is it not high time for the Citizens of London, and the places adjacent, to bestir themselves, when the greatest offenders have found a way, with the assistance of their friend the Thief-taker, to escape the hand of justice? This will give them encouragement, and make them desperate, as well as frequent in their robberies, and, what the citizens and others must dearly pay for, if not timely prevented, by putting a stop to the same.

In short, the thief, the goal, the justice, and the King's evidence, all of them seem to be influenced and managed by him, and, at this rate, none will be brought to the gallows, but such as he thinks fit, &c.

Now, if enquiry were to be made, by what means he arrived to this pitch of preferment he is now at, you will find that he hath been a great proficient in all matters and things, that he hath hitherto engaged in.

I. Who, when in a private station, and followed the trade of Buckle-making, knew how to plate a crown-piece as well as any that followed that employment.

II. When he became an evidence, did the business skittishly, and as effectually, as any of those he now sets up.

III. When he was a Twang, and followed the tail of his wife, Mary Milliner, a common night-walker, no sooner had she picked a pocket, and given him the signal by a Hem! or otherwise, but he had impudence and courage enough to attack the Cull, until the Buttock had made her escape.

IV. When king of the gipsies, Jonathan Wild did execute the hidden and dark part of a stroller to all intents and purposes, until, in Holborn, by order

order of the justice, his *skittish* and *baboonish* majesty was set in the stocks for the same.

V. Now King among the thieves, and Lying-master-general of England, Captain-general of the army of plunderers, and Ambassador Extraordinary from the Prince of the Air, hath taken up his residence in an apartment fitted up on purpose for him in the Palace of the Queen of Hell, where continual attendance is given for receiving and buying stolen goods; as likewise, to *pay them back* again, provided the right owners will offer money enough for the same; but if not, then doth his excellency fly off, and give you to understand, that the goods he hath heard of, are not yours, and that he cannot assist, you, and that you may be gone about your business, for ——— he will take a sum of money of the thief, or dispose of the goods some other way. Certainly, such a monster of iniquity as this is not to be found in any part of the habitable world, save only in this kingdom, and this infatuated city, and places adjacent, those places of general corruption.

VI. There being one thing more, which he earnestly desires, and solicits to be employed in finding out, and setting up evidences against the false coiners, and, then you need not doubt but in a little time you will have as many coiners, as you have thieves. O! London! London! so much famed for thy good order; by what means is it now come to pass, that thou art become a receptacle for a den of thieves and robbers, and all sorts of villainous persons and practices?

It may be proper to examine a little into the trade of punishing wickedness and vice, the same being become one of the most mysterious, profitable, and flourishing trades now in the kingdom—and the open, but unwarrantable and pernicious practice of the regulator (Jonathan Wild.)

And, in order thereto, I shall here take a view of him in the public streets, which he so much boasteth of, and fain would persuade you, that he doth so much good to the public, by stopping the whores, and other persons viciously inclined, and forcibly entering the houses of bawdry, and taking them out from thence, and committing them to goals. And now I pray, what's the consequence of all this? woeful experience plainly shews, that, by the ill acquaintance, and conversation they meet with there, they learn to be thieves, and find the way to the Thief-takers houses, set up by them on purpose to harbour and train up one brood of thieves under another, and so screen and save them from the gallows, to the end that they may live by the reversion of them. And now it is the general complaint, that people are afraid, when it is dark, to come to their houses, for fear that their hats and wigs should be snatched from off their heads, or their swords taken from their sides, or, that they may be blinded, knocked down, cut, or stabbed; nay, the coaches cannot secure them, but, they are likewise assaulted, cut and robbed in the public streets.—And, how can you suppose it to be otherwise, when there are so many public offices, public and private houses, public inns and public shops, set up on purpose to harbour thieves and robbers, and carry on the basest designs with them.—

Jonathan Wild's *Account of himself, and the City Marshal.*

WHEN two of a profession are at variance, the world is let into many important discoveries; and, whether it be among thief-takers, lawyers, or clergymen, an expectation naturally arises of some Billingsgate treatment.—For the satisfaction of the world in this particular, I shall, like a true cock
of

of the game, answer Mr. Hitchen at his own weapons.—

—Says my old master in iniquity, “ One thief-taker brought to justice, is more for the advantage of the city, than a hundred thieves:” Not to justify the practice of thief-taking, I acquiesce with him in this, if the *oldest* offenders are to be *first* prosecuted, and then I’ll leave the world to judge, — Who will first deserve an exemplary punishment.

This looks as if Jonathan was not the original thief-taker, but, that he borrowed some hints from the Marshall, and afterwards improved them.

The information he mentioned, in respect to the setting up an evidence, is entirely groundless, the person accused being perfectly ignorant of it; and there are enough to prove that the evidence voluntarily appeared before my Lord Mayor: and, as for not returning of goods for want of a reward sufficient to the value, I shew what flagrant crimes the City Marshall has been guilty of, of this nature.—

Jonathan does not here deny the charge of not returning the goods, and therefore we may venture to take it for fact.

Says this author,—“ He knew how to plate a crown piece as well as any that followed that employment.” Now, if he could prove this assertion, or any thing like it, it is very rational to suppose, that he would bring the thief-taker to condign punishment, being his implacable enemy.—

That setting up evidences against false coiners is the way to have as many coiners as thieves, is such a piece of nonsense, absurdity, and contradiction, that it is not to be paralleled.

And it is a notable piece of inconsistency to say, that taking whores out of bawdy-houses, and sending them to workhouses, makes them thieves. By
this

this way of arguing, the houses of correction, instead of deterring iniquity, increase thefts, and robberies, and the reformers of manners are the promoters of wickedness.—But it is no wonder that the Marshal, throughout his treatise, expresses a great deal of uneasiness at the informers, for those persons very much lessen his interest in suppressing houses of lewdness, the keepers whereof have been generally pensioners to him.—I can produce persons who will make it appear, that several houses of ill fame are supported by quarterly payments to him: Besides, there being frequently sums of money extorted from libertines for connivance at their lewdness, and sometimes from persons entirely innocent, and unacquainted with the character of those houses. And he has of late been so audacious, as to examine taverns of the best reputation, and insist upon yearly compositions from them, though the only payment he has met with, has been a salute with a crab tree cudgel, and a decent toss in a blanket.

He has shewn such an excellence in the Flash or Cant dialect, that every body must allow him a master, and that experience only must have compleated him.—His dialogue demonstrates his great knowledge in the intrigues of pick-pockets, house-breakers, and highwaymen; and a man would swear by his apt description, that he had been an Actor in all. The boys in the Ken swearing and grinning like so many hell cats, and the man in the silver-buttoned coat, and knotted wig, with a sword by his side, is an exact scene of a city-officer, and his company of pickpockets at an alehouse between Moorfields and Islington, where they used to rendezvous daily, the boys giving an account of their day's work, and the master dispensing further instructions.

I need not mention his being nearer the pillory than ever a certain person was to the stocks.—And, however a certain diminutive person may resemble a
Baboon,

Baboon, it is evident to all that know the gigantic City Marshal, that he wants nothing but a cloven foot to personate, in all respects, his father Beelzebub.

There are many other particulars which I shall omit, and proceed to several matters of fact, to make appear, that (instead of a scoundrel author's being intirely free from all the evil practices he has treated of) he is guilty of the same crimes he pretends to fix upon others.

After the Marshal's suspension in his office, and he was forbid attendance on the Lord-Mayor, he on a time applied himself to the Buckle-maker near Cripplegate, in the following manner :

“ I am very sensible that you are let into the knowledge of the intrigues of the Compter, particularly with relation to the securing of Pocket-books : but your experience is inferior to mine ; I can put you in a far better method than you are acquainted with, and which may be done with safety ; for, though I am suspended, I still retain the power of acting as constable, and, notwithstanding I cannot be heard before my Lord-Mayor as formerly, I have interest among the Aldermen upon any complaint.

“ But I must first tell you, that you will spoil the trade of Thief-taking, in advancing greater rewards than are necessary ; I give but half-a-crown a book, and, when the thieves and pick-pockets see you and I confederate, they'll submit to our terms, and likewise continue their thefts for fear of coming to the gallows by our means.—You shall take a turn with me as my servant, or assistant, and we'll commence our rambles this night.”

The night approaching, the Marshal and the Buckle-maker began their walk at Temple-bar, and called in at several brandy-shops, and alehouses, between
that

that and Fleet-ditch: Some of the masters of these houses complimented the Marshal with punch, others with brandy, and some presented him with fine ale, offering their service to their worthy protector.

The Marshal made them little answer; but gave them to understand, all the service he expected from them was, to give him information of pocket-books, or any goods stolen, as a Pay-back; "For you women of the town," (addressing himself to some females in one of the shops) "make it a common practice to resign things of this nature to the bullies and rogues of your retinue;——but this shall be no longer borne with, I'll give you my word; both they and you shall be detected, unless you deliver all the pocket-books you meet with to me. What do you think I bought my place for, but to make the most of it? and you are to understand this is my man (pointing to the Buckle-maker) to assist me. And if you at any time for the future refuse to yield up the watches and books you take, either to me, or my servant, you may be assured of being all sent to Bridewell, and not one of you shall be permitted to walk the streets. For, notwithstanding I am under a suspension, (the chief reason of which is, for not suppressing the practices of such vermin as you) I have still a power of punishing, and you shall dearly pay for the least disobedience to what I have commanded."

Strutting along the streets a little farther, the Marshal on a sudden seized two or three dexterous pick-pockets, reprimanding them for not paying their respects to their mighty Chief; and withal, asking them to what parts of the town they were rambling, and whether they did not see him? to which they answered, that they saw him at a distance (he being big and remarkable enough to be known by them and their

their brethren) but he caught hold of them so hastily, that they had no time to address him. “ We
 “ have been strolling,” continued the pick-pockets,
 “ over Moorfields, and from thence to the Blue-Boar,
 “ in pursuit of you ; but, not finding you as usual,
 “ we were under some fears that you were indispos-
 “ ed :” The Marshal replied, he should have given
 them a meeting there, but had been employed the
 whole day with his new man. “ You are to be very
 “ careful,” said he, “ not to oblige any person but
 “ myself, or servant, with pocket-books : if you pre-
 “ sume to do otherwise, you shall swing for it, and
 “ we are out in the city every night to observe your
 “ motions.” These instructions given, the pick-pockets
 left us, making their master a low congee, and pro-
 mising obedience. This was the progress of the first
 night with the Buckle-maker, whom he told, that
 his staff of authority terrified the ignorant to the
 extent of his wishes.

Some nights afterwards, walking towards the back
 part of St. Paul’s, said the Marshal to the Buckle-
 maker, “ I’ll now shew you a brandy shop that en-
 “ tertains no company but whores and thieves. This
 “ is a house for our purpose, and I am informed,
 “ that a woman of the town, who frequents it, has
 “ lately decently robbed a gentleman of his watch
 “ and pocket-book ; the advice I received from her
 “ companion, with whom I have a good understand-
 “ ing. We will go into the house, and, if we can
 “ find this woman, I will assume a more stern coun-
 “ tenance (though at best, I look like an infernal)
 “ and, by continued threats, extort a confession, and
 “ by that means get possession of the watch and
 “ pocket-book ; in order to which, do you sily accost
 “ her companion.”—Here he described her.—“ Call
 “ to her, and inform her, that your master is in a
 “ damned ill humour, and swears, if she does not
 “ instantly make a discovery where the watch and

“ pocket-book may be found, at farthest by to-mor-
 “ row, he will certainly send her to the Compter, and
 “ thence to the Work-house.”

The means being thus concerted to gain the valuable goods, both master and man entered the shop, in pursuit of the game, and, according to expectation, they found the person wanted, with several others; whereupon the Marshal, shewing an enraged countenance, becoming the design, and the Buckle-maker being obliged to follow his example, the company said, that the master and man looked as four as two devils,—“ Devils,” said the Marshal, “ I’ll
 “ make some of you devils, if you do not immediately discover the watch and pocket-book, I am
 “ employed to procure.”——“ We do not know
 “ your meaning, Sir,” answered some, “ Who do you
 “ discourse to?” said others, “ we know nothing of
 “ it.” The Marshal replied in a more soft tone,
 “ You are ungrateful to the last degree, to deny me
 “ this small request, when I never was let into the
 “ secret of any thing to be taken from a gentleman,
 “ but I communicated it to you, describing the person
 “ so exactly, that you could not mistake the man; and
 “ there is so little got at this rate, that the devil may
 “ trade with you for me.”

This speech being over, the Marshal gave a nod to his man, who, in obedience to his master’s motions, and his former commands, called one of the women to the door, and, telling the story above directed, the female answered, “ Unconscionable devil!
 “ vil! when he gets five or ten guineas, not to
 “ bestow above five or ten shillings upon us unfortunate wretches: but however, rather than go to
 “ the Compter, I’ll try what is to be done.”

The woman, returning to the Marshal, asked him, what he would give for the delivery of the watch, being seven or eight pounds in value, and the pocket-book having in it several notes and goldsmith’s
 bills:

bills: to which the Marshal answered, a guinea, and told her, it was much better to comply, than to go to Newgate, which she must certainly expect upon her refusal.

The woman replied, that the watch was in pawn for forty shillings, and, if he did not advance that sum, she should be obliged to strip herself for the redemption, though, when her furbelowed scarf was laid aside, she had nothing underneath, but furniture for a paper-mill. After abundance of words, he allowed her 30s. for the watch and book, which she accepted, and the watch was never returned to the owner.

Some little time after this, a gentleman in liquor going into the Blue-boar, near Moorfields, with a woman of the town, immediately lost his watch. He applied to the Marshal, desiring his assistance; but the Buckle-maker being well acquainted with the walk between Cripplegate, and Moorfields, had the fortune to find the woman. The master immediately seized her, on notice given, and, by vehement threatnings, obliged her to a confession. She declared, that she had stolen the watch, and carried it to a woman, that kept a brandy-shop near, desiring her to assist in the sale of it. The mistress of the brandy-shop readily answered, she had it from an honest young woman that frequented her house, whose husband was gone to sea; whereupon, she pawned the watch for its value, and ordered the sale.

This story seeming reasonable, the Watch-maker purchased the watch, and gave the money agreed for it, which was fifty shillings. Thus the sale of the watch being discovered, the Marshal with his staff and assistants, immediately repaired to the Watch-maker's house, and seized the Watch-maker, in the same manner as a person would do the greatest criminal; he carried him to a public house, telling him,

that, if he did not forthwith send for the watch, he should be committed to Newgate.

The Watch-maker, not being any ways accustomed to unfair dealings, directly answered, that he bought the watch, and the person he had it of would produce the woman that stole it, if it were stolen, the woman being then present. The Marshal replied, he had no business with the persons that stole the watch, but with him in whose possession it was found, and that, if he did not instantly send for the watch, and deliver it, without insisting upon any money, but, on the contrary, return him thanks for his civility, which deserved five or ten pieces, he would, without delay, send him to Newgate.

Hereupon the innocent Watch-maker, being much surprized, sent for the watch, and surrendered it to him; and since that he has been well satisfied, that the person who owned the watch made a present to the Marshal of three guineas for his trouble, and the poor Watch-maker never had a farthing for his fifty shillings. This story and the following, sufficiently demonstrate the honesty of the City Marshal.

Some time ago a Biscuit-baker near Wapping, having lost a pocket-book, wherein was, among other papers, an Exchequer bill for 100 l. applied himself to the Marshal's Man, the Buckle-maker, for the recovery thereof; the Buckle-maker advised him to advertise it, and stop the payment of the bill, which he did accordingly; but, having no account of his bill, he came to the Buckle-maker several times about it, and at length he told him, there had been with him a tall man, with a long peruke and sword, calling himself the City Marshal, and asked him, if he had lost his pocket-book? the Biscuit-maker answered, Yes, desiring to know his reasons for asking him such a question, and whether he
could

could give him any intelligence. He replied, no, he could not give him any intelligence of it as yet, but desired to be informed, whether he had employed any person to search after it? To which the Biscuit-baker answered, he had employed one Wild. Whereupon the Marshal told him, he was under a mistake, for he should have applied to him, who was the only person in England that could have served him, being well assured it was entirely out of the power of Wild, or any of those fellows, to know where it was.—Which was very certain, he having it at that time in his custody, and desired to know the reward that would be given. The gentleman answered, he would give 10*l*. The Marshal replied, that a greater reward should be offered, for that Exchequer bills, and those things were ready money, and could immediately be sold, and that, if he had employed him in the beginning, and offered 40 or 50*l*. he would have served him.

The biscuit-baker acquainting Wild with this story, Wild gave it as his opinion, that the pocket-book was in the Marshal's possession, and therefore it would be to no purpose to continue advertizing it, he being well assured, that the Marshal would not have taken the pains to find out the biscuit-baker, unless he knew how to get at it.

Upon the whole, Wild advised the biscuit-baker rather to advance his bidding, considering what hands the note was in, and because the Marshal had often told his servant, how easily he could dispose of Bank notes and Exchequer bills, at gaming-houses, which he very much frequented.

Pursuant to this advice, the owner at last went a second time to the Marshal, and bid forty pounds for his pocket-book and bill. “Zounds, Sir,” said the Marshal, “you are too late!” which was all the satisfaction he gave him. Thus the poor biscuit-baker was tricked out of his Exchequer bill; but it happened

pened a small time after, that some of the young fry of pick-pockets, under the tuition of the Marshal, fell out in sharing the money given them for this very pocket-book ; whereupon one of them came to the person first employed by the biscuit-baker, and discovered the whole matter, viz. that he had sold the biscuit-baker's pocket-book, with the hundred pound Exchequer note in it, and other bills, to the City-Marshal, at a tavern in Aldersgate-street, for four or five guineas.

The person, to whom the boy applied himself, asked him what sort of a person the gentleman was that he took it from, who readily answered, that he was a lusty elderly man, with light hair, which was very apparent to be the same person. There are several living who will justify this [account of the] whole affair, and the Exchequer bill was never returned to the owner, but paid to another person, though it could never be traced back.

This account, entirely fact, contains a charge far greater than any the Marshal has pretended to fix upon the thief-takers, as he styles him.

To shew farther the dealings and good correspondence between the Marshal and the thieves and pick-pockets about town, I think it proper to insert the following story.

Some time ago, when a person stood in the Pillory near Charing-Cross, a gentleman in the crowd was deprived of a pocket-book, which had in it bills and lottery-tickets, to the value of several hundred pounds ; and a handsome reward was at first offered for it in a public Advertisement, thirty pounds at least.

The Marshal, having a suspicion, that a famous pick-pocket, known by his lame hand, had taken the book, he applied to him, and, to enforce a confession
and

and delivery, told him, with a great deal of assurance that he must be the person, such a man, with a lame hand, being described by the gentleman, to be near him, and whom, he was certain, had stolen his book. “ In short,” says he, “ you had the book, and you must bring it to me, and you shall share the reward ; but if you refuse to comply with such advantageous terms, you must never expect to come within the City gates ; for, if you do, Bridewell at least, if not Newgate, shall be your residence.”

After several meetings, the Marshal's old friend could not deny that he had the pocket-book ; but he said to the Marshal, “ I did not expect this rigorous treatment from you, after the services I have done you, in concealing you several times, and by that means keeping you out of a goal. It is not the way to expect any future service, when all my former good offices are forgotten.”

Notwithstanding these reasons, the Marshal still insisted upon what he had at first proposed ; and, at length, the pick-pocket considering that he could not repair to the Exchange, or elsewhere, to follow his pilfering employment, without the Marshal's consent, and fearing to be a mark of his revenge, he condescended to part with the pocket-book, upon terms reasonable between buyer and seller. Whereupon, says the Marshal, “ I lost all my money last night at gaming, except a gold watch in my pocket, which I believe there will be no enquiry after, it coming to hand by an intrigue with a famous woman of the town, whom the gentleman will be ashamed to prosecute, for fear of exposing himself. I'll exchange goods for goods with you.” So the pick-pocket, rather than he would risk the consequence of disobliging his master, concluded the bargain.

We

We shall now present you with a story, which shews the Marshal's prodigious courage and forwardness to hang Burglars, even his own pupils, for the reward.

One night, not far from St. Paul's, the Marshal, and the Bucklemaker his man, met with a detachment of pick-pocket boys, who instantly, at the sight of their master, took to their heels and ran away. The Buckle-maker asked the meaning of their surprize. To which the Marshal answered, "I know their meaning, a pack of rogues! they were to have met me in the fields this morning with a book, I am informed they have taken from a gentleman, and they are afraid of being secured for their disobedience. There is Jack Jones among them.—We'll catch the whore's-birds." Jack Jones, running behind a coach to make his escape, was taken by the Marshal and his man. The master carried him to a tavern, and threatened him severely, telling him he believed they were turned house-breakers, and that they were concerned in a burglary lately committed by four young criminals. This happening to be fact, and the boy fearing the Marshal had been informed of it, he, for his own security, confessed, and the Marshal promised to save his life on his becoming evidence. Whereupon the Marshal committed the boy to the Compter till the next morning, when he carried him before a Justice of the peace, who took his information, and issued a warrant for the apprehending his companions.

Notice being given where the criminals were to be found, viz. at a house in Beach-lane, the Marshal and his man went privately in the night thither, and listening at the door, they over-heard the boys, with several others in a mixed company.

They

They entered the house, where they met ten or eleven persons, who were in a great rage, enquiring what business the Marshal had there, and saluted him with a few Damn ye's, which occasioned the Marshal to make a prudent retreat, pulling the door after him, and leaving his little man to the mercy of the savage company.

In a short time, the Marshal returned with eight or ten watchmen and a constable; and, at the door, the Marshal, out of his dastardly disposition, though his pretence was a ceremonious respect, obliged the constable to go in first; but the constable and Marshal were both so long in their compliments, that the man thought neither of them would enter in: at last the constable entering with his long staff extended before him, the Marshal manfully followed, crying out, "Where are the rebel villains? Why don't ye secure them?" The Buckle-maker answered, that they were under the table; upon which the constable pulled out the juvenile offenders, neither of whom were above twelve years of age. The two boys now taken were committed to Newgate; but the fact being committed in the county of Surry, they were afterwards removed to the Marshalsea Prison. The assizes coming on at Kingston, and Jones giving his evidence against his companions, before the grand jury, the bill was found, and the Marshal indorsed his name on the back of it, to have the honour of being an evidence against these monstrous house-breakers. On the trial, the nature of the fact was declared; but the parents of the offenders appeared, and satisfied the court, that the Marshal was the occasion of the ruin of these boys, by taking them into the fields, and encouraging them in the stealing of pocket-books: and told him, on his affirming they were thieves, that he had made them such.

The judge observing the Marshal's views were more to get the reward than to do justice, summed up the charge to the jury in favour of the boys, who were thereupon acquitted, and the Marshal reprimanded. He was so enraged at this, and so angry with himself for not accusing the boys of other crimes, that he immediately returned to London, and left his man to discharge the whole reckoning at Kingston.

The following Story is a fit companion to the preceding one.

A gentleman, that had lost his watch when in company with a woman of the town, applied to a person belonging to the Compter, who recommended him to the Buckle-maker to procure the same; and the gentleman applying accordingly to him, and giving a description of the woman, the Buckle-maker, a few days after, traversing Fleet-street with his master in an evening, happened to meet with the female, (as he apprehended by the description of the gentleman) who had stolen the watch, and, coming nearer, he was satisfied therein.

He told his master, that she was the very person described: to which the master answered, with an air of pleasure, "I am glad to find we have a prospect of something to-night to defray our expences," and immediately with his man seized the female, and carried her to a public-house, where, upon examination, she confessed it was in her power to serve the Marshal in it; telling him, that, if he would please to go with her home, or send his man, the watch would be returned, and a suitable reward for the trouble. The man asked his master his opinion, whether he thought he might pursue the woman with safety? to which he replied, Yes, for that he knew her: and giving hints of his following

Following at a reasonable distance for his security, which he did with a great deal of precaution, as will appear; for the man proceeding with the female, she informed him that her husband, who had the watch about him, was at a tavern near White-fryars, and, if he would condescend to go thither, he might be furnished with it, without giving himself any further trouble, together with the reward he deserved. To which the man consented, and, coming to the tavern, she made enquiry for the company she had been with but a short space before; and, being informed they were still in the house, she sent in word by the drawer, that the gentlewoman, who had been with them that evening, desired the favour to speak with them. The drawer going in, and delivering the message, immediately three or four gentlemen came from the room to the woman: she gave them to understand, that the Marshal's man had accused her of stealing a watch, telling them she supposed it must be some other woman, who had assumed her name, and desiring their protection; upon this the whole company sallied out, and attacked the Marshal's man in a very violent manner, to make a rescue of the female, upbraiding him for disgracing a gentlewoman of her reputation.

The Marshal, observing the ill success of his man, and fearing the discipline of a poker, fire-fork, and fire-brands (which his man was obliged to go through) reserving his fate of this kind to futurity, decently made off, hugging himself that he had escaped the severe treatment he equally deserved with him.

The man in the struggle shewed his resentment chiefly against the female; and, after a long contest, wherein he disrobed her so effectually, that she appeared like Eve without her fig-leaf, she was in that pickle thrust out at the back door; and immediately

the watch being called, he and the rest of the men were seized.

As they were going to the Compter, the Marshal overtook them near Bow-church, and asked his man the occasion of his long absence, coming up to him in great haste; the man answered, that he had been at the tavern with the woman, where he thought he saw him: the master answered, that indeed he was there, but, seeing the confusion so great, he went off to call the watch and constables.

This dialogue being over, the Marshal used his interest to get his man off, but to no purpose, he being carried to the Compter with the rest of the company, in order to make an agreement there.

The next morning the woman sent to her companions in the Compter, letting them know, that, if they could be released, the watch should be returned without any consideration, which was accordingly done, and a small present made to the Marshal's man for smart-money; and upon this the persons were all discharged, paying their fees.

The watch being now ready to be produced to the owner, the Marshal insisted upon the greatest part of the reward, as being the greatest person in authority: The man declared it unreasonable, unless he had partook of the largest share of the bastinado. "But however," says the Marshal, "I have now an opportunity of playing my old game; I'll oblige the gentleman to give me ten guineas to save his reputation, which is so nearly concerned with a common prostitute." But the gentleman knew too much of his character to be thus imposed upon, and would give him no more than what he promised, which was three guineas. The master at first refused, but his man (who had the most right to make a new contract) advising him to act cautiously, he at last agreed to accept the reward at first offered, giving his man only one guinea for his service and the
cure

cure of his wounds. This is a sufficient instance of the Marshal's cowardice and inhumanity.

Having recited these faithful accounts, of the flagrant crimes the Marshal has been guilty of in the way of Thief-taking, I come to others of less consequence.

One night the Marshal and Buckle-maker being abroad in their walks, not far from the Temple, they discovered a clergyman pissing against the Wall, in an Alley to which he had retired, as persons frequently do on account of modesty and decency. Immediately a woman of the town lying in wait for prey, brushed by, the clergyman saying aloud, "What does the woman want?" The Marshal instantly rushed in upon them, and seized the clergyman, bidding his man secure the woman. The clergyman resisted, protesting his innocence, (which his language to the woman confirmed) but finding it to no purpose, he at last desired that he might be permitted to go into an Ironmonger's house near; but the Marshal refused, and dragged the clergyman to the end of Salisbury-Court in Fleet-street, where he raised a mob about him; and two or three gentlemen that knew the parson, happening to come by, asked the mob what they were doing with him, telling them he was chaplain to a noble lord. The rough gentry answered, "Damn him, we believe he's chaplain to the devil, for we caught him with a whore."

Hereupon the gentlemen desired the Marshal to go to a tavern that they might talk with him without noise and tumult, which he consented to. When they came into the tavern, the clergyman asked the Marshal by what authority he thus abused him? the Marshal replied, he was a city-officer (pulling out his staff) and would have him to the Compter, unless he gave very good security for his appearance the next morning, when he would swear, that he caught him with the whore, and his hands under her petticoats.

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The clergyman seeing him so bent upon perjury, which would very much expose him, sent for other persons to vindicate his reputation, who, putting a glittering security into the Marshal's hand (which they found was the only way to deal with such a monster in iniquity) the clergyman was permitted to depart.

The Marshal being now ready for another adventure, going up Ludgate-hill, he observed a well-dressed woman walking before, which he told the buckle-maker was a lewd woman, for that he saw her talking with a man. This was no sooner spoke but he seized her, and asked her who she was? She made answer, that she was a Bailiff's wife. "You are more like to be a whore," said the Marshal, "and as such you shall go to the Compter."

Taking the woman through St. Paul's Churchyard, she desired liberty to send for some friends; but he would not comply with her request. He forced her into the Nag's-head tavern in Cheapside, where he presently ordered a hot supper and plenty of wine to be brought in; commanding the female to sit at a distance from his worship, and telling her, that he did not permit such vermin to sit in his presence, though he intended to make her pay the reckoning.

When the supper was brought to the table, he fell to it lustily, and would not allow the woman to eat any part of the supper with him, or to come near the fire, though it was extreme cold weather. When he had supped, he stared round, and, applying himself to her, told her, that if he had been an informer, or such a fellow, she would have called for eatables and wine herself, and not have given him the trouble of direction, or else would have slipped a piece into his hand. Adding, "You may do what you please; but though we that buy our places, seem to go for nothing, I can assure ye it is in
" my

“ my power, if I see a woman in the hands of in-
 “ formers, to discharge her, and commit them. You
 “ are not so ignorant, but you must guess my mean-
 “ ing.” She replied, that she had money enough to
 pay for the supper, and about three half crowns more.
 This desirable answer being given, he ordered his
 attendant to withdraw, while he compounded the
 matter with her.

When the buckle-maker came in again, the gentlewoman was very civilly asked to sit by the fire, and eat the remainder of the supper, and in all respects treated very kindly, only with a pretended reprimand to give him better language whenever he should speak to her for the future. And, after another bottle drank at her expence, she was discharged. This is an excellent method to get a good supper gratis, and to fill an empty pocket.

These are some of the remarkable adventures of the Marshal and his man, after the Marshal's suspension; and many others might be enumerated, but, fearing to tire the reader's patience, I omit them; though it may not be amiss to inform the public, that a certain person, before his disgrace, used to have daily meetings with the pick-pocket boys in Moorfields, and to treat them there plentifully with cakes and ale; offering them sufficient encouragement to continue their theft: and at a certain time it happened, that one of the boys, more cunning than his companions, having stolen an alderman's pocket-book, and opening it, and finding several bank bills, he gave the Marshal to understand, that it was worth a great deal beyond the usual price; and the notes being of considerable value, he insisted upon five pieces. The Marshal told the boy, that five pieces, was enough to break him at once: that if he gave him two guineas he would be sufficiently paid, but assured him, that if he had the good luck to obtain

tain a handsome reward, he would make it up five pieces.

Upon this present encouragement and future expectation, the boy delivered up the pocket-book, and a few days afterwards, being informed that a very large reward had been given for the notes, he applied to the Marshal for the remaining three guineas according to promise; but all the satisfaction he had was, that he should be sent to the house of correction if he continued to demand it; the Marshal telling him, that such rascals as he were ignorant how to dispose of their money.

To prove that he dealt from the beginning with pick-pocket boys, I need only mention the cause of his being suspended; which was for his conniving at the intrigues of the pick-pockets; taking the stolen pocket-books, and sending threatening letters to the persons that lost them, under pretence that they had been in company with lewd women, and for extorting money from several persons, and one in particular, who making his complaint to an eminent Apothecary in the Poultry, that knew the villainy of the Marshal, the affair was brought before the court of aldermen, where, upon examination, the Marshal was found guilty of that and many other notorious crimes, upon which he was suspended.

We shall insert the following adventure, to exhibit another part of the Marshal's character.

One night the Marshal invited his man, the buckle-maker, to a house near the end of the Old-Bailey, telling him, that he could introduce him to a company of he-whores. The man, not rightly apprehending his meaning, asked him if they were Hermaphrodites?—"No, ye fool you," said the Marshal, "they are sodomites, such as deal with their own sex instead of females."

This

This being a curiosity the Buckle-maker had not hitherto met with, he willingly accompanied his master to the house, which they had no sooner entered, but the Marshal was complimented by the company with the titles of madam and ladyship.

The man, asking the occasion of these uncommon devoirs, the Marshal said it was a familiar language peculiar to the house. The man was not long there, before he was more surprized than at first; the men calling one another my dear, and hugging, kissing, and tickling each other, as if they were a mixture of wanton males and females, and assuming effeminate voices and airs. Some telling others that they ought to be whipped for not coming to school more frequently.

The Marshal was very merry in this assembly, and dallied with the young sparks with a great deal of pleasure, till some persons came into the house that he little expected to meet with in that place: and then, finding it out of his power to secure the lads to himself, he started up on a sudden in a prodigious rage, asking the frolicking youths, if they were become so common as to use these obnoxious houses, and telling them he would spoil their diversion: upon this he made his exit with his man.

As he was going out of the house he said, he supposed they would have the impudence to make a ball. The man desiring him to explain what he meant by that, he answered, that there was a noted house in Holborn, to which such sort of persons used to repair, and dress themselves up in women's apparel, and dance and romp about, and make such a hellish noise, that a man would swear they were a parcel of cats a catterwauling.—“ But,” says he, “ I’ll be revenged of these smock-faced young dogs. I’ll watch their waters, and secure them, and send them to the Compter.”

Accordingly, the Marshal knowing their usual hours, and customary walks, placed himself with a constable in Fleet street, and dispatched his man, with another to assist him, to the Old-Bailey. At the expected time several of the sporting youngsters were seized in women's apparel, and conveyed to the Compter.

The next day they were carried before the Lord-mayor in the same dress they were taken in. Some were compleatly rigged in gowns, petticoats, head-cloaths, fine laced shoes, furbelowed scarves and masks; some had riding-hoods; some were dressed like milk maids, others like shepherdesses with green hats, waistcoats and petticoats; and others had their faces patched and painted, and wore very extensive hoop-petticoats, which had been very lately introduced.

His lordship having examined them, committed them to the workhouse, there to continue at hard labour during pleasure; and, as part of their punishment, ordered them to be publicly conducted through the streets in their female habits: pursuant to which order, the young tribe were carried in pomp to the workhouse, and remained there a considerable time, till at last, one of them threatened the Marshal with the same punishment for former adventures, and he thereupon applied to my Lord-mayor, and procured their discharge.

One of the young gentlemen was so mortified by this commitment, that he died in a few days after his release.—Any that want to be acquainted with the Sodomitish Academy, may be informed where it is, and be graciously introduced by the accomplished Mr. Hitchin*.

* In April, 1727, the Marshal was convicted of sodomitical practices, for which he was sentenced to pay a fine of 20*l.* to stand in the pillory, and to suffer six months imprisonment.

From the several accounts before-mentioned, which are incontestably true in every particular—the principles and character of the Marshall sufficiently appears.”

Having gone through Jonathan’s account of himself and the Marshal, let us now return to Wild at his lodgings in the Old Bailey, where we left him in the year 1715.

If his people, as he used to call them, obeyed his orders in letting him into the secrets of their robberies, and committing the goods to his disposal, he assured them, that they might depend upon his protection; and indeed he had so much honour, that, to the utmost of his power, he always performed what he promised them.

His credit was so established by this punctuality, that if he sent for any of them, with a promise of a safe conduct, they would go to him directly, though they knew it was in his power to hang them. When they came, if they agreed with his proposals, they parted good friends, but, if they proved obstinate, (and though he had an information against them) he would say, “I have given you my word, that you should come and go in safety, and so you shall—
“But look to yourself, for, when you see me again,
“you see an enemy.”

It is no wonder that he acquired so great an ascendancy over them, when he was not only willing, but commonly able to keep his word, whether it was to hang or save them. If they had followed his instructions, they were sure he would not disturb them; and, though they were apprehended by others, he seldom failed of procuring their discharge in a little time. He commonly got them to be admitted evidences, by pretending they were capable of making large informations against others, and in this case, if he found they were not sufficiently

provided with particulars, he would furnish them with private memorandums of his own. If by such means he could not prevent their coming to a trial, he would some how contrive to keep the principal witnesses against them out of the way, at the time when the prisoners were called to the bar, and then they were discharged for want of evidence.

But, on the other hand, when any of his people presumed to be independent, and took upon them to dispose of what they stole, without consulting him, and submitting to his terms, or, by any other act of rebellion, forfeited his favour, they were sure to feel the effects of it. In such a case no body could be so vigilant as Jonathan, to bring the offender to justice, and, as he was well acquainted with all their places of resort, it was impossible to escape him.

Thus, by punishing the disobedient, he not only got the reward allowed for convicting them, but established his authority over the others, and at the same time appeared to have some pretence to the character of being an useful member of society.

If any person (who could make free with him) asked him how he could carry on such a trade of restoring stolen goods without being in a confederacy with the thieves; he would answer, “ I have, “ indeed, a large acquaintance among such sort of “ people, and when I hear that such a robbery has “ been committed at such a time, and, that such and “ such goods have been taken away, I send to enquire “ after the suspected persons, and order word to be “ left at the most likely places for them to hear of “ it, that if they will cause the goods to be carried “ to such a place, they shall receive such a reward, “ and no questions shall be asked them. And where “ is the harm of all this? I neither see the thief, “ nor

“nor receive the goods.” This was his account of the matter, and the only account he would give.

We will now relate some particulars of his management.

A lady went in her chair to pay a visit in Piccadilly: the chairmen left the chair at the door, and waited for her return at a neighbouring alehouse, and while they were drinking, the chair, with the velvet seat and furniture, was carried entirely off. The chairmen immediately applied to Wild, and after taking his usual fee of a crown, he told them, that he would consider of it, and desired them to call in a day or two.

They went at the time appointed, when Wild insisted upon a considerable reward, which they paid him, and then he bid them be sure to attend the prayers at Lincoln's-Inn Chapel the next morning. They went thither accordingly, and were equally surprized and pleased to find their lady's chair under the piazzas of the chapel, with the seats and furniture in the same condition as when it was lost.

In the night of Saturday, March the 31st, 1716, Mrs. Knap, a widow gentlewoman, and her son, coming from Sadler's-Wells, were attacked in Jockey-Fields by five footpads, and Mrs. Knap was murdered. A large reward was offered for discovering the villains. Soon after this murder, Thomas Middlethwaite, Esq. was attacked in his coach near the Pindar of Wakefield, by the same rogues; but, upon his firing a blunderbuss, and wounding one of them, they dispersed without robbing him.

Wild immediately made it his business to find out the murderers. By the description given him of some of them, he knew the whole gang, which were Will White, Tom Thurland, Jack Chapman, alias Ned Darvel, Tim Dun and Isaac Rag. On the Sunday sevensnight, after the fact, he received intelligence,
that

that Will White, and several other Prigs, were merry making at Jack Weatherly's Cafe in Newtoner's-Lane; upon which, taking his man Abraham with him, he went thither, and seizing White, brought him away in a coach about midnight.

As soon as he was secured, word was brought to Jonathan, that one James Aires (against whom he likewise had an information) was in company with a whore at the Bell Inn in Smithfield. Wild and his assistants went thither, and were not displeased to find they were mistaken in their man, for, instead of Aires, the person proved to be Thurland. They met him under the gateway, armed with two brace of pistols; but, coming upon him suddenly, they prevented his firing.

On the following night they went to a Cafe in White-Horse-Alley in Drury-Lane, where they met with Darvel, alias Chapman, who had been wounded in the arm by Mr. Middlethwaite. Soon after this, there being another information against Isaac Rag for a burglary, Jonathan found him at one of his haunts in St. Giles's. He was carried before a justice, where he informed against twenty-two of his accomplices, house-breakers, footpads, and receivers of stolen goods, upon which he was admitted an evidence.

In January, 1714-15, Rag was convicted of a misdemeanor, in entering the yard of Thomas Powell, with an intent to steal his goods. He was found in a dust-hole with a pistol, some matches, and several pick-lock keys upon him. His sentence was to stand three times in the pillory. In October, 1715, he was indicted for breaking the house of Elizabeth Stanwell on the 24th of August, but acquitted.

On the 18th of May, 1716, William White, Thomas Thurland, and John Chapman, alias Edward Darvel, were indicted at the Sessions House in the Old-

Old-Bailey for assaulting John Knap, Gent. on the highway, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, putting him in fear, and taking from him a hat and wig, on the 31st of March, 1716.

They were a second time indicted for the murder of Mary Knap, widow: White by discharging a pistol loaded with powder and bullets, and thereby giving her one mortal wound, of which she instantly died, May, 31, 1716; and Thurland and Chapman for aiding and assisting him in the said murder.

They were a third time indicted for assaulting John Gough on the highway, and robbing him of a brown gelding, value 5 l. a suit of cloaths, and some money.

William White was a fourth time indicted with James Ruffel for breaking and entering the house of George Barclay, and stealing divers goods, on the 1st of April.

John Chapman was a fourth time indicted for breaking the house of Henry Cross, and stealing five pistoles, on the third of March, 1715—16.

White and Thurland refused to plead, and stood obstinately, without speaking or holding up their hands, upon which the court ordered the judgment to be read which the law has appointed in such cases. The two prisoners, however, continued mute. The court then directed their thumbs to be tied together with whipcord: this was done by two officers, who drew the cord tight with their whole force, and so held it for above a quarter of an hour. This working no effect, the court passed sentence upon them to be pressed to death. When they found by this, that there was no escaping, they both pleaded Not guilty, and afterwards challenged all the jury; upon which a new jury was impanelled, and the witnesses were sworn.

The first and second Indictments.

Mr. Knap deposed, that a gentleman, who had made his mother a visit a few days before her death, among other things in conversation, was pleased to express how well he had been satisfied with the diversion he had met with at Sadler's Wells, which made Mrs. Knap very desirous to see it. Accordingly, on the evening that proved so fatal to her they both went thither; they staid there till ten at night, and then this deponent got a link at the bar, and, lighting it, they came away together. Nothing happened till they got within forty yards of the houses, near Gray's-Inn garden-wall, and then they met with a soldier, whom they did not much like, but he proved to be a very honest fellow: he passed them, and in an instant, some fellows coming up, the link was blown out, Mr. Knap's hat and wig were taken off, and he knocked down; upon which his mother screamed out, and thereupon one of them fired a pistol close by him, and immediately he heard his mother cry, "Lord help me! help me!" and then the rogues fled. Mr. Knap went to the houses for help, and the soldier came to his assistance. Having lighted his link, he went back and found his mother upon the ground.

Isaac Rag deposed, that he and the prisoners were concerned in this fact, but White was the man that killed the gentlewoman; for each of them had a pistol with a brace of bullets, and, after the fact, they went to drink together, and they all pulled out their pistols to see who had fired, and they found that White had discharged his; they asked him, why he did so? and he said, he did it to frighten the woman, and make her hold her tongue.

Another

Another witness deposed, that he heard White confess, that he shot Mrs. Knap, though he said, he did not intend it, but only fired to frighten her.

The jury found them guilty of both indictments.

Third Indictment.

Mr. Gough deposed, that between Holloway and the Half way-house he was robbed by five or six men, who took away his horse, and all his cloaths. Thurland was one of them, and he pulled off Mr. Gough's breeches, and then they bound him naked as he was, and threw him into a field, where they left him without comfort, but promised to send him some company.

Isaac Ragg deposed, that he and the prisoners, and Tim Dunn and Will Parker, who were not then taken, committed this robbery.

The jury found them all guilty of this indictment.

White and Ruffel were likewise convicted of breaking Mr. Barclay's house, on the evidence of Ragg.

On the the last indictment against Chapman, Ragg deposed, that he and the prisoner broke open the house of Mr. Cross, and stole the five pistols, which were divided among the gang that killed Mrs. Knap.

The jury found them guilty of Felony.

After sentence of death had passed upon them;—White said he was born in London, had served aboard several men of war for ten years, and owned he was guilty of the facts for which he suffered, but confessed nothing more.

Chapman said, he was born at Laytonstone in Essex. and was by trade a Gardener. He confessed himself guilty of the crimes he was convicted of, but would own nothing farther.

Thurland said, he was born at Hertford, was a Miller by trade, and had sometime kept a shop at

Colchester. He acknowledged the offences of which he stood convicted.

This Thurland was indicted with Mary his wife, in December, 1714, for stealing 132 yards of ruffel, and 400 yards of Tamarine, the goods of John Sare, in the house of Nicholas Sharplefs, on the 1st of October preceeding.

The goods were in a warehouse at the King's-Arms, in Leadenhall-street. Thurland and his wife lodged five nights in a room adjoining to the warehouse, and when they went away the goods were missed, and some of them were afterwards found where the prisoners had pawned them.

Thomas Thurland said in his defence, that he lived at Colchester, dealt in such goods, and bought these that were found, at the pawnbrokers. The jury acquitted his wife, and found him guilty, in consequence of which he received sentence of death. He afterwards received mercy on condition of transporting himself within six months. He pleaded to his pardon on the 6th of August, 1715.

White, Chapman and Thurland were hanged at Tyburn on the 8th of June, 1716. White aged 34, Chapman 32, and Thurland 30; Timothy Dun was not yet taken, for he had removed his lodging, and kept himself so close, that not a word was to be heard of him at any of the Cafes.

Wild, however, was not discouraged by this; he knew that the fellow could not live long in such a private manner, for he must either follow the old business, or starve; and, what is more, Jonathan offered to lay a wager of ten guineas that he would have him before the next sessions; some of his acquaintance accepted the offer, and the money was deposited.

Dun being grown weary of his confinement, and willing to know if Wild was still in quest of him, sent his wife to get what intelligence she could. She was acquainted

acquainted at Mrs. Seagoe's, where Jonathan lodged, and therefore went thither and staid all the afternoon. What information she gained, is uncertain; but, when she went away in the evening, Wild sent a man after her, to watch her home. She took water at Black-Friars, and crossed to the Faulcon. He followed in another boat. She suspecting him, crossed again to White-Friars. He was presently after her, and she perceiving it, took another boat to Lambeth. He still followed, but it being now dark, and he keeping at a convenient distance, she thought she had lost him, and so went directly to her lodging in Maid-lane, near the Bank-side in Southwark. But he watched her so narrowly, that he saw where she went in, and that he might not mistake the house next day, he set a mark upon the door with a piece of chalk, and then returned and informed Wild of his proceedings.

The next morning, Wild, his man Abraham, one Riddlefden, an attorney, and another, went to Dun's lodging, which was up two pair of stairs. He, hearing them at the door, got out of his back window upon the roof of a pantry, the lower end of which was not above seven or eight feet from the ground.

Abraham getting into the back yard, and seeing Dun upon the tiles, fired a pistol and wounded him in the shoulder, so that he rolled down into the yard, and then, though there was no fear of his escaping, Riddlefden came and shot him in the face with small shot.—Thus Jonathan won the ten guineas, and Timothy was hanged.

This Riddlefden (or, as Wild calls him in his list Riglesden) was convicted of breaking into the Banqueting-House, and stealing plate from the communion-table; but he obtained a pardon on condition of transporting himself within six months.

He went over sea, but it was not long before he returned to England, and found means to marry

the daughter of a wealthy gentleman at Newcastle upon Tyne; but before he could get her fortune into his own hands, he was discovered and once more committed to Newgate. His wife followed him thither, and was brought to bed in the gaol; but her friends, hearing where she was, fetched her away, and Riddlefden ill requited her kindness in suffering the hardships of a prison for the sake of his company; for he contracted an intimacy with the widow of Richard Revel, one of the Turnkeys of Newgate, and, if we are not misinformed, married her; but, be that as it will, they lived together as man and wife.

After making what interest he could, he was permitted to transport himself a second time, upon which, taking Mrs. Revel with him, he went to Pennsylvania; but in a little while, a quarrel arising betwixt them, she left him, returned to London, and took a public-house in Golden-lane. Whither he went afterwards, or what became of him is very uncertain, and we can only say, that we have never heard that he came to the Gallows.

Wild got a great deal of Reputation, as well as a handsome reward, by his courage and good management in this affair of Mrs. Knap. He valued himself much upon it, and thought it something worth boasting of, in his answer to the City Marshal.

“ Upon all occasions (says he) no person has been
 “ more forward in apprehending and bringing to
 “ justice the boldest of criminals, even to the ha-
 “ zard of his life; particularly in the case of the
 “ barbarous murder of Mrs. Knap, and the breaking
 “ open of the Bishop of Norwich’s house.”

But if Wild had been thus forward on all occasions, (as he would here insinuate) he might have escaped that punishment which actions of a different kind brought him to.—His mentioning Mrs. Knap’s
 affair

affair before that of the Bishop of Norwich, induced us to think that she was murdered before he was robbed, for which reason I gave her's the first place, but I now find that it ought to have followed, but as the copy of it is gone to the press, it is too late to prefix the other, and therefore we shall add it here.

In February, 1714-15, Robert Parrot, of St. James's, Westminster, was indicted for breaking and entering the house of the Right Reverend Father in God, Charles, Lord Bishop of Norwich, and stealing a pair of diamond ear-rings, a gold watch and chain, with plate and wearing apparel to a very great value, on the 18th of August, 1714.

John Chance deposed, that the prisoner (who kept a gin-shop over-against the bishop's house in King-street, Westminster) came to him, and said, there was a large parcel of rich goods brought from Norwich to the bishop's house, and that he knew it, because he helped to unload them, and that he would shew this deponent how to get into the house.

Having agreed upon the matter, they, together with Will. Parker, broke open the house, and stole the goods, which they sold to one White, in Holborn. The ear-rings for 10 l. and the plate for 4s. 6d. an ounce. He was found guilty, and received sentence of death, but was afterwards reprieved in order to be transported.

Wild in his list, calls this prisoner John, instead of Robert Parrot, and joins Will. Hoskins with him, as if they were both concerned in the same facts, but in this he seems to be mistaken; for,

In December, 1724, William Hoskins was indicted for breaking and entering the house of Richard Downs, and stealing eighty pair of silk-stockings, and forty pair of worsted stockings, on the 2d of November. The shop was broke open by boring holes,
and

and taking out some pieces of boards on the side of the shop next to Northumberland-Court: and part of the goods were found at the prisoner's lodgings.

John Chance deposed, that he and the prisoner committed the fact; in consequence of which Hoskins received sentence of death.

Either Jonathan observed but little regularity in keeping his books, or else he trusted wholly to his memory, when he drew up his list, for most of his criminals names are misplaced in respect of time; some are mistaken, and others are charged with facts they never committed.

In or about the month of March, 1715—16, Arnold Powel, a notorious house-breaker, was apprehended and committed to Newgate for attempting a burglary near Golden-Square; Jonathan, understanding that he was pretty *flash* of the *cole*, caused it to be intimated to him, that he expected him to *come down*, or ways and means would be found to have him *topped*.

Arnold, not believing that it was in Wild's power to hurt him, dared him to do his worst; and Wild, resolving to convince him of his mistake, exerted his utmost diligence to find out whom he had robbed. It was not long before he heard that Mr. Eastlick, a Glass-grinder, at Fleet-ditch, was one whose house had been broke open by Powel. Wild applied to Mr. Eastlick, a Prosecution was agreed on, and a bill was found for the burglary. This brought Powel to repentance, and so he struck up a peace with Jonathan, who had his own terms, and thereupon retracted his great zeal, and contrived an expedient for Powel's deliverance.

Mr. Eastlick and his witnesses attended at the Old Bailey at the beginning of the sessions; but Wild persuaded them that on the first and second days
the

the court would be taken up with other trials, and therefore they need not lose their time in waiting at the sessions-house, but he would give them timely notice when Powel's trial came on. They depended upon this; but, in the mean time, Jonathan so managed the matter, that Powel was brought to the bar. The witnesses were called, but none appeared, and Wild, who was then in court, declared that he knew not what was become of them.

The prisoner was taken away again, and afterwards brought a second time, and so a third, but still no witnesses appeared; at last, the jury were charged with him, and, for want of evidence, he was acquitted, and the court ordered the prosecutor's recognizance to be estreated: but Mr. Eastlick, hearing of this management the next morning, applied to the court; upon which Wild was severely reprimanded, and Powel was ordered to remain 'till next sessions, when he endeavoured to elude a trial, by putting himself into a salivation; but, that not availing him, he was tried for, and convicted of a burglary, and was hanged at Tyburn, on the 20th of March.

Wild had now left his lodgings at Mrs. Seagoe's, and taken a house on the other side of the way, next to the Cooper's-Arms.

Wild, to support his pretences of serving the public, as well as for other purposes, found it necessary now and then to hang up two or three of his people; but this was insufficient to conceal his other practices. His encouraging felons, and trading in stolen goods, were by this time too well known to be longer suffered with impunity.

And accordingly in the year 1718, (the fourth of King George I.) an act was passed, "For the farther preventing robberies, burglaries, and other felonies, and for the more effectual transportation of felons;" by a clause in which, it was made felony
for

for any persons to take a reward under pretence of restoring stolen goods, except they prosecuted the felons who stole them.

At first it was imagined that this would ruin Jonathan's business, and indeed it proved a damp to it for a while; but it was not long before he ventured to enliven it again. 'Tis true, he acted with much more caution than before, and consequently altered some of his measures, by which he thought to evade the law.

When people had been two or three times with him, in quest of what they had lost, he would tell them, that he had made enquiry after their goods, and thereupon had received information, that if such a sum of money was sent to such a place, the goods would be delivered to the person who carried it. This being agreed on, a porter was called, the money put into his hands, and directions were given him to go and wait at the corner of a street; when he came to the place appointed, or perhaps in his way thither, he was met by somebody who delivered him the goods upon his paying the money.

At other times, perhaps the owners of the goods, as they were going home, were over-taken by a stranger, who put the goods into their hands, and at the same time a note, in which was writ the sum of money they were to pay for them.

But in some hazardous cases he commonly put the people themselves upon taking the first step, by advertising what goods they had lost, and offering a reward to any one who would bring them to Jonathan Wild, who was thereby impowered to receive them without asking questions.

In the two former cases, he neither saw the thief, nor received the goods, nor took the money; and in the latter, the principal part was the act of the parties themselves, and he appeared no otherwise than

than as a friend, in whose honour they could safely confide; and in serving them this way, there was no necessity of supposing him to be a confederate with the felons who had committed the robbery.

When the goods were obtained and the party desired to know what he must have for his trouble, he would tell them, with an air of indifference, they might do as they pleased, he demanded nothing; he was glad it had been in his power to serve them; what he had done was from a principle of doing good, and without any views of self-interest; and if they thought fit to make him a present, it would be their own act, the pure effect of their generosity, and he should not take it as a *reward*, but meerly as a *favour*.

As he had sometimes customers from the other end of the town; to save them the trouble of coming so far as the Old Bailey, or perhaps for some other reason, he took an office in Newtoner's-Lane, and placed his man Abraham in it; but, in a quarter of a year, Mr. Wild's business grew so brisk, that he was obliged to send for his man home again to assist him.

Abraham had the character of a very faithful and industrious servant to his master, and was entrusted in affairs of the greatest consequence, and not undeservedly, as we shall see in the following instance.

Jonathan had been so fatigued in the late hurry of business, that his health was much impaired, and it was thought necessary for him to enjoy a little ease, and take the benefit of the country air.

Accordingly, leaving Abraham to supply his place, he took lodgings at Dulwich.

While he was there, a gentlewoman, in going to the South-sea-house, had her pocket picked of Bank notes to the value of 7000*l*. As soon as she missed them, she went to Jonathan's house, and applied to his man. He desired her to give him the particu-

lars of the notes, and the best description that she could of the persons who were near her a little before or after she missed them. This being done, he promised to make a diligent enquiry, and so he did to some purpose; for, in a few days, three pick-pockets were taken with all the notes upon them and carried down to Jonathan, who thought fit to, discharge them upon delivering up all their effects. The notes were returned to the owner; but Jonathan got 400 l. by the affair.

These three were afterwards transported for other offences. One of them had spoke with a Bank note for 1000 l. and he carried it with him to Maryland, where he bought his liberty, and then went to New-York, and set up for a gentleman.

Wild being pretty well recovered, returned to his house in the Old Baily.

One night, about this time, a Mercer, at the corner of Lombard-street, sent a porter with a box of rich goods, to the value of 200 l. or more: three Prigs, who were out upon the Kid-lay, took notice of him, and had a great mind to speak with the box; upon which, one of them, who was well dressed, goes up to him, "Porter," says he, "can you step a little way, and I'll give you six-pence?"—"Yes, Sir."—"Do so much then as go to the tavern at the end of the street, and desire the drawer to give you the roquelaure that the gentleman left in the bar,—you shall carry my watch for a token. You may set your box down upon this bulk, and I'll take care of it till you come back: but whatever you do make haste."

Hereupon the porter pitched his burden, ran to the tavern, and enquired for the roquelaure; but nobody there knew any thing of the matter: "May be," says he, "you are afraid to trust me with it; but the gentleman has sent a very good token,—here's his gold watch,"—"Gold!—Blood!" "it

“ it is nothing but pewter lacquered over.”—As soon as he found this, he began to fear he was bit, and hurried back as fast as he could, but he came too late, for neither the gentlemen nor the box were to be met with.—

“ Lord !” said he to himself, “ what must I do !
 “ what account shall I give to my master ? I must
 “ never let him know what a senseless dog I have
 “ been, to be gulled at this rate ; I must invent some
 “ excuse, I must forge some lie or other, to bring
 “ myself off, or I am an undone man.” At length
 he came to a resolution : he rolled himself in the dirt,
 went home, and told his master two fellows had
 knocked him down, and run away with the box.
 The story was probable, and gained credit. The
 Mercer applied to Wild, and told him the same
 story. “ Look ye, Sir,” says Wild, “ this porter of
 “ yours is a lying rascal, and if you’ll send for him
 “ hither, I’ll convince you of it.” The porter was
 sent for, Abraham took him into a room, betwixt
 which and the next room, where Jonathan had
 placed the Mercer, there was only a thin partition,
 so that what was said in one, might easily be over-
 heard in the other. “ Honest Friend,” says Abraham,
 “ your master was here just now about a box ; we
 “ wanted to know some particulars that he could not
 “ inform us of, and so, before he went, he sent
 “ word for you to come hither. Now, if you’ll tell
 “ us how you lost the box, and what sort of persons
 “ took it from you, something may be done.”—
 “ Why two or three fellows came up to me, and
 “ knocked me down, and ran away with it.”—“ If
 “ they knocked you down, it is a robbery, and there-
 “ fore I am afraid they will not venture to come in
 “ and return the goods.”—“ Why so ?”—Because they
 “ stand a fair chance to be hanged. But come, you
 “ may as well tell the whole truth at once, for, if you
 “ do not, we shall find it out some other way. Do

“ you know nothing of a token? — — A token, — —
 “ Yes, was there no such thing as a watch given you
 “ by a gentleman for a token to fetch his roque-
 “ laur from a tavern? ” — “ Why, indeed, that’s the
 “ very case; but how the devil came you to know
 “ it? I believe in my conscience you’re a witch.”
 “ Well, you may go home again now, and we will
 “ try what we can do.”

One of the very fellows who was concerned in cheating the porter, lived at that time in Wild’s old house in Cock-Alley. Wild and Abraham went thither, and listening at the door, they heard the man and his wife scolding, — “ You Bitch,” says he, “ I’ll go to Holland to-morrow.” Wild immediately pushed open the door, and said, “ Will you by G—d? but you shan’t;” and so conducted him to the Compter. Next day the Mercer had his goods again; the prisoner was discharged; and Wild was satisfied for his trouble.

Abraham was Jonathan’s oldest servant; but he had several other assistants, among whom *Quilt Arnold* was the most eminent.

Wild’s business now increased so much that he found it necessary to take a larger house, and accordingly removed to a more convenient habitation, the King’s-Head, in the Old-Bailey.

His having convicted Holliday did not prevent others from laying another temptation before him; for, in less than a week’s time, two women came to him with a scheme for breaking a house: but they, as well as Holliday, being strangers to him, and not having proper credentials, he thought it by no means adviseable to fall in with their proposals, and therefore very prudently made a merit of his fear, and conducted them to Newgate.

In the month of February, 1718-19, Margaret Dowdell, alias Dodwell, and Alice Wright, were
 indicted

indicted for a misdemeanor, in advising and endeavouring to persuade Jonathan Wild, to break and enter the house of John Cook, and steal his goods, on the 23d of January 1718-19.

Jonathan Wild deposed that the prisoners came to his house, and said they wanted to speak with him in private; upon which he looked at them very earnestly, and, perceiving one of them to be with child, he did not know but she might want a father for it: However, he took them aside, and desired them to tell him their business. “Why,” says Dowdell, “I have lost nothing, but yet I want to find something.—I believe I can help you to a thousand pounds.—Nay, I don’t doubt of making it many thousands, if you’ll be ruled by me.—O, by all means,” said Wild, “and I shall think myself very much obliged to you for putting me in the way: Pray what’s to be done? Why you must procure me,” said she, “two or three stout fellows. Very well,” said he, “and how then?” Why then,” replied she, “the business is to break open the house, and take the money. ’Tis the house of John Wood, a Cane Chair-maker, in Wormwood-street, near Bishopsgate; and he has a lodger, an ancient maiden gentlewoman, that has got some thousand pounds in her box under the bed where she lies. Now there is a saw-pit in the shop, and the only way will be for one of the fellows, in the evening, to take an opportunity of hiding himself in this saw-pit, which he may do very easily, and so, in the dead of night, he may let in his companions; and then they must take care to secure two sturdy ’prentices, and a boy that lodges in the garret, for they will be apt to be very refractory. But I beg that this may be done, if possible, without committing murder.”—“Phoo!” said Alice Wright, “people that go upon such matters must do as well as they can; they must take care
“ of

“ of themselves, and act as they shall see best for
 “ their own security.—Now, when these boys are
 “ secured, it’s the easiest thing in the world to come
 “ at the old gentlewoman’s money; for she is gone
 “ into the country to fetch more, and her room is
 “ underneath where the boys lie.—Then opposite
 “ to her room, is the room where Mr. Cook and his
 “ wife lies; but you must take particular care of
 “ him, for he’s a devilish resolute man, and it might
 “ not be much amiss, if he were knocked o’ the head.
 “ And, when that’s done, you may find money in
 “ his drawers, for he never is without. Right un-
 “ der his room lies a gentlewoman and a small child;
 “ but I must desire of you, that neither she nor the
 “ child may be hurt”—“ and so must I too,” said
 Dowdell, “ for I would not have them come to any
 “ harm for the world.”

When Wild had heard all this, he thought it was proper to take and secure the prisoners.

Mrs. Cook deposed, that Mr. Wild came and informed her of this design, and described all the rooms in her house as exactly as if he had lived there.—That Dodwell had been her lodger five months, and, though she was behind hand in her rent, this deponent was unwilling to turn her out, because she knew she was very poor, and might be hard put to it to get another lodging; but at last she went away of her own accord, without giving notice, or offering to pay any thing. When she and the other prisoners were carried before my Lord-Mayor, they both confessed the whole matter.

Several persons appeared to Dodwell’s character, and deposed, that she was a captain’s widow, and had formerly lived in good credit, but was now reduced.

Wright called one witness, who said, he knew nothing more of her, than that she had lived in two

or three places where he was acquainted, and that she had a child by a gentleman whom he knew.

The jury found them both guilty of the misdemeanor, and the court ordered that they should be imprisoned for six weeks.

A certain gentleman having lost his sword from his side, applied to Wild for his assistance. Having deposited his crown, he was asked, with a solemn air, where it was he lost it: He named the place, and upon that Jonathan turned about to Quilt Arnold, and said, "Who can this be? when all our people are gone down to Bristol Fair?" Quilt Arnold, pausing a little, answered, "I'll be hanged if it is not Sam Lynn, for I saw him in the street yesterday." "Did you so?" says Wild, "why then that's the rascal, I'll warrant you;" and then, turning to the gentleman, "Sir," says he, "If you'll call in a day or two, you shall hear more of it."

The gentleman came according to appointment. "Faith," says Jonathan, "I can't hear of the young dog, but I believe he is gone after the rest to the fair, and, if he is, as soon as he comes up again, I don't question but I shall help you to your sword." When the fair was over, the gentleman went again and again, but could hear no news of it, 'till at last Jonathan told him the rogue had sold it upon the road, to raise money to carry him down, and neither he nor the sword was now to be found.

Some little time after this, Jonathan missed another very useful hand. He had minuted down in his books a gold watch, a parcel of fine lace, and several other things of great value, which this rascal (whose name was Jack Butler) had made upon the Lodging-lay at Newington-Green; and yet he wholly neglected coming to account, and no news was to be heard of him for two or three months.

Wild

Wild swore he would be up with him for his ingratitude ; and accordingly spared no pains in hunting after him ; but, as Jack had retired from business, it was no easy matter to meet with him. However, hearing at last that he lodged at an alehouse in Bishopsgate-street, he got a warrant, and, taking two or three to assist him, went thither betimes in the morning, and gaining an easy admittance at the street-door, he went foremost up stairs, with a pistol in his hand, though not so softly but Butler heard him, upon which he jumped out of bed, slipped on his coat, breeches and shoes, and getting out of the window, (which was but one story high) dropt into the yard, climbed over the wall into the street, and run across the way into a dyer's shop, and so through to a wash-house, where some women were washing.

He told the women he was pursued by bailiffs, and begged they would let him hide himself. The good women pitied his case, and directed him to the coal-hole. In the mean time Jonathan had wrenched open the door, and found that Butler had given him the slip, and he knew not which way to follow him ; however, he made as much haste as he could down stairs, and seeing nothing of him in the street, he concluded he must have taken refuge in some house not far off. At last he saw the Dyer's door open, upon which he went over, and, meeting with the man of the house, acquainted him with what had happened, and said, he believed the rogue must have run in there, because (it being early in the morning) he saw no other door open thereabouts. " He can't be here," said the Dyer, " for I have not been out of the shop above a minute." " Sir," said Jonathan, " that must be the very time he slipped in, and therefore I beg you will give me leave to search for him." The Dyer bid him search and welcome.

Wild

Wild and his assistants now went in, and finding the women in the wash-house, enquired of them if they had seen such a fellow: they denied it stiffly, till he satisfied them that the man he wanted was a thief, and then they advised him to look in the coal-hole. Jonathan took a candle, and looked all round, but to no purpose. Then he went into the cellar and searched every corner of it, but still the man was not to be found. He examined the kitchen, the shop, and every other place where he thought it was possible for the fellow to be hid, and yet all was labour in vain. He was heartily vexed, and swore he was never so foiled in his life before. He told the Dyer he believed the rogue was got out again. "That's impossible," said the Dyer, "for I have been in the shop ever since, and if he went down stairs, he must be there still, for there's no other way out but at this door, and he could not come this way without my seeing him: and therefore I would advise you to look in the cellar again, and I'll go with you." They all went down, and the Dyer turning up a large tub which he used in his trade, immediately Butler made his appearance. "So Mr. Son of a Bitch! have I caught you at last?" cried Jonathan; "What have you done with the gold watch, the lace, and the other moveables that you stole out of your lodgings, you runagate rascal? You shall certainly swing for it: I'll take care of you, if there is never another rogue in England." But, notwithstanding these menaces, Jack knew the secret of calming Jonathan's wrath, and therefore calling him aside, "If you will step to my room again," says he, "and look behind the bed's head, you may find something that will make you amends for your trouble."

Jonathan went, and was well satisfied with what he found; but, as Butler was apprehended in so public a manner, it was necessary to carry him before a

justice, and the justice committed him to Newgate; and, by good management, instead of being hanged, he was only transported.

Wild going one day to an inn in Smithfield, observed a large trunk in the yard; and imagining there might be something of considerable value in it, he went home, and ordered Jerry Rann (of whom we have taken some notice above) to go and *speake with it*: Rann dressed himself like a porter, and brought it off. It belonged to Mr. Jarvis, a Whip-maker in that neighbourhood, and he had sent it to the inn, to be carried down into the country; but, hearing that somebody had stole it, he applied to Wild, who, after a great many delays, helped him to most of the goods again for ten guineas. Soon after this Wild and Rann quarrelling, Wild found means to have him hanged; but, the day before his execution, he sent for Mr. Jarvis, and acquainted him with the whole affair.

Mr. Jarvis was the more inclinable to believe this account, because his own servant informed him, that Wild was at the inn, when the trunk was laid down there. It was reported, that Wild was threatened with a prosecution for this; but Mr. Jarvis dying soon after, nothing came of it.

It has been said that Jonathan, resolving to carry on a trade to Holland and Flanders, purchased a sloop, and gave the command of her to the famous Roger Johnson; that he carried over gold watches, rings, snuff-boxes, and other plate, and sometimes perhaps bank notes, which had been *spoake with* by the way of the mail. His chief trading port was Ostend, from whence he travelled up to Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and other considerable towns, where he disposed of his effects, and taking in a lading of Hollands, and other goods, returned to England, and usually brought his cargo to land in the night, without giving the least trouble to the Custom-house Officers.

For

For about two years this business went on successfully, when, by some mismanagement, two pieces of Holland were lost, and Johnson stopt the value of them out of the Mate's wages. The Mate was so provoked at this, that he went immediately, and gave information of Johnson's running a vast quantity of goods; whereupon the vessel was exchequered, and Johnson was cast in 700*l.* damages, and this put an end to his trading to Holland.

A great animosity had long subsisted betwixt Johnson and Tom Edwards, who kept the Cafe in Long-Lane. Johnson was expert at the Passing-Lay, and Edwards at the Waggon-Lay. Edwards was indefatigable in his calling, for he would sometimes follow a waggon for 100 miles together: he always lay at the same inn where the waggon put up, and when every body else was in bed, he would creep down from his room, and take a box or a portmantua out of a waggon, unbar the inn gates, carry his booty into some private field, and plant it under a hedge, and so return privately to his own bed again.—

One evening, as he was coming out of the Black-Lion alehouse in the Strand, which was then kept by one Butler, (the brother of Tom Butler, who received his pardon in order to be an evidence against Wild) he met with Johnson and seized him, and charging him with felony, carried him into a tavern: Johnson sent for one of Wild's men, who came, with a constable and a warrant against Edwards, and carried him before a justice, who committed him to the Compter.

We cannot certainly say how this affair ended; but, sometime afterwards, Edwards, having intelligence of a large quantity of valuable stolen goods, which it seems were lodged in one of Wild's private warehouses, got a warrant and seized them. Jonathan was so provoked at this, that, though he did

not think it proper to claim the goods as his own, yet he took out an action in the name of Johnson, to whom he said the goods belonged, arrested Edwards, and threw him into the Marshalsea, where he lay one night, but gave bail for his appearance on the following day.

Edwards was now resolved on revenge. He got several informations against Johnson, and only wanted to find where he was. After a long search to no purpose, he accidentally met with him in the road at Stratford, upon which he seized him, and, sending for a constable, carried him into the Three-Crowns alehouse hard by. Johnson sent a messenger to inform Wild of what had happened. Wild and his man Quilt Arnold went down directly to Johnson, who made his escape while the rest were quarrelling.

An information was made against Wild for his management in this affair, and he, receiving some intelligence of it, absconded for three weeks; and then imagining the danger was over, ventured to appear again in public; but he found himself mistaken; for the High-Constable of Holborn, hearing that he was returned to his own house, went thither with the two Willis's, and apprehended him and his man Quilt Arnold. They were carried before a magistrate and committed to Newgate.—From this instant Jonathan's cunning and courage forsook him.

We have already given a more exact and full account than ever appeared in public before, of the proceedings against him from this time to the time of receiving sentence. We are now come to take notice of his behaviour under condemnation, and shall begin with the following elegiac copy of verses.

The

The complaint of JONATHAN WILD.

CONFIN'D within that dark and dreary cell,
Where terrors reign, and where no comforts
dwell;

Where ominous visions wretched souls affright,
Halters and gibbets painting to the sight:
Where some in tears lament, and others swear,
While * Purney sniv'ling, spells a godly prayer;
Or while his † deputy, with holy qualms,
Devoutly hums o'er one of Sternhold's psalms;
Of life despairing, conscious of desert,
Sad Wild thus vents the anguish of his heart:
Thus of his inauspicious fate complains,
As he with gloomy brow surveys his chains.

Ingrateful country! zealous for thy good,
How often have I hazarded my blood?
Nor have I arms alone, but arts employ'd,
Swords, pistols, and damnation have defy'd.
Warm in thy cause, of dangers not afraid,
How great a slaughter has by me been made?
Witness, ye records of this horrid doom,
Nor let it be forgot in days to come;
By me thrice thirty have in halters dy'd,
I seiz'd them, and in vain t' escape they try'd;
'Twas I, who evidences did prepare,
And to the purpose taught them what to swear.

Ye Britons! curs'd with an unthankful mind,
For ever to exalted merit blind,
Is thus your constant benefactor spurn'd?
Are thus his faithful services return'd?
This dungeon his reward for labours past,
And Tyburn his full recompence at last?

* Tho. Purney, Ordinary of Newgate.

† James Wagstaff.

More generous Blueskin!—O, that thy design
Had ended this unhappy life of mine!

O, that success had crown'd the stroke you gave!
Then had I gone with honour to the grave!

How will the crowds, that I have sent before,
Triumph to meet me on th' infernal shore!
At me what looks insulting will they cast,
And sneering cry,—“ Old friend, you're come at last!”

But sure, ere long, the time will come again,
When watches shall be lost in Drury-Lane;
Snuff-boxes, finely painted, miss their way,
And rings and pocket-books shall go astray:
When Phillis at the ball or masquerade
Shall lose a present by some lover made:
Then you,—unthinking monsters!—You, that now
Exult at my unpitied overthrow,
Then you'll repent too late:—You then, in vain,
Will wish to have your Jonathan again!

But you, my faithful servants every where,
Whom I have train'd up with a father's care,
Sure you some grateful sentiments will have,
And drop a tear upon your master's grave!
From rags, and saunt'ring bare-legg'd up and down;
With pockets never blest'd with half a-crown;
From selling save-alls, pimping at poor stews,
From raking kennels, and from blacking shoes;
'Twas I that rais'd ye,—you by me were made
Successful artists in a theiving trade:
I taught you to lead comfortable lives,
To keep a train of whores, and starve your wives:
Go on and prosper, bravely play your parts,
Nor leave unpractis'd any of your arts:
Be rogues renown'd, and trample on the laws,
And, like true bloods, revenge your patron's cause.

The following account of Jonathan Wild was written by the Ordinary of Newgate.

—This malefactor, after his conviction, affirmed, that he had fasted upwards of four days, which, together with his lameness and indisposition, had rendered him unable to attend the service of God in the Chapel.

He endeavoured to convince people, that at Wolverhampton he knew several persons that would have proved his friends, had he thought his case dangerous, and timely applied to them: but as he carried on the same practices above a dozen years, and was now growing old, he could not be made to believe he should suffer at last, for what he had publicly done unpunished so long. But he was then told by a gentleman, that he had artfully evaded the law, and escaped justice; which justice had sometime since overtaken one Thomson, who was executed for carrying on such practices but a very short time.—That he ought to have taken warning when he was first of all committed prisoner to the Compter, where he should have observed the misery of vicious people, instead of learning their ways, and endeavouring to understand them and their practices, and afterwards associating with them.

He replied, that his business was doing good in recovering lost goods; that as he had regained things of great value for dukes, earls, and lords, he thought he deserved well.—That he had apprehended the greatest and most pernicious robbers the nation was ever molested by,—and had wounds and scars still remaining in his head, body, and legs. He appeared to be very much disordered, and confused in his thoughts, which he said was owing to those wounds, and in particular to two fractures in his skull which
disordered

disordered his brain, though covered with silver plates.

He never went to Chapel during the whole time that he continued under sentence of death, saying, he was lame, and unable to support himself on his legs, and much more unable to go up so far. Another reason he added was, that certain enemies of his among the crowd would not only interrupt his prayers by pointing, whispering, &c. but would, he believed, insult him, and, if they dared, would raise a tumult; therefore as he knew that to pray to God without attention or regard, was worse than wholly to omit prayers; and as he could not attend his duty amidst so vast a crowd as appeared in the Chapel, he earnestly desired he might not be carried to the Chapel, and accordingly he was not.

He kept the other malefactors in order and regularity,—no interruption happening either at prayers, or when the word of God was reading.

The day before he died, he desired he might receive the Sacrament, at which time he enquired the meaning of the words, *cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.*—Also concerning the disposition of the soul when first separated from the body, and the local situation of the other world, and more questions of such a nature: but he was answered, that they were matters of less actual moment and importance than other things he might employ his time about: he was advised rather to repent of his sins, to read and study Christ's passion, merits and atonement, and the infinite justice as well as unlimited mercy of Almighty God.

He appeared somewhat attentive to the prayers, especially before he had some expectations of a reprieve, and after he found that all expectation was vain.

The evening before he suffered, he enquired how the noble Greeks and famous Romans, who slew themselves,

themselves, came to be so glorious in history, if self-murder be a crime?—He was desired to consider, that the wisest and most learned Heathens called self-murder cowardice, in not sustaining the misfortunes that Providence laid upon human nature; and that christianity is much more express against suicide. He confessed that self-murder was impiety, but his confession appeared to be hypocrisy; for, about two o'clock in the morning, he endeavoured to prevent his execution by drinking laudanum; but the largeness of the draught, together with his having fasted before, instead of destroying him immediately, was the cause of his not dying by it.

At the place of execution,—Wild had rendered himself delirious by poison, but began to recover himself, and united (with the other criminals) in the public prayers, as well as the tumult and clamour of the occasion would give them leave."

Thus far the Ordinary.—His account of Jonathan in his last hours is very short, and therefore we shall mention some other particulars.

After taking the Liquid Laudanum, he grew so drowsy, that he could not hold up his head, nor keep open his eyes at prayers. Two of his fellow prisoners, perceiving his disorder, endeavoured to rouse him: they took him by the arms, and persuaded him to stand up and walk a little, which (as he was lame of the gout) he could not do without their assistance.

This motion awakened him a little, and then his countenance turned very pale, he sweated violently, and grew exceedingly faint and sick; soon after which he vomited till he had thrown up the greatest part of the laudanum.

He then recovered a little, but still was drowsy, and almost insensible of what he said or did, and in

this condition he was put into the cart, and conveyed to the place of execution.

It would be difficult to describe with what roughness he was treated by the mob, not only as he went to the tree, but even when he was at it. Instead of those signs of pity they generally shew when common criminals are going to execution, they reviled and cursed him, and pelted him continually with stones and dirt.

By the time that he came to the end of his journey, he was considerably recovered from the disorder the laudanum had thrown him into.

The other malefactors being ready to be turned off, and the executioner telling Jonathan he might take any reasonable time to prepare himself, he continued sitting in the cart for a little while; but the mob grew so outrageous at this indulgence, that they called out incessantly to the hangman to do his office, and threatened to knock him on the head if he did not immediately perform it. He found delays were dangerous, and therefore no longer deferred the gratification of their demands.

Jonathan Wild was executed at Tyburn, on Monday, the 24th of May, 1725.

The morning after his execution, about two o'clock, he was buried in Pancras church-yard; but his body did not rest there, for in two or three nights afterwards, the Surgeons (as it is believed) thought fit to remove it. A hearse and six was seen waiting about midnight at the end of Fig-Lane, at which place the empty coffin was found the next morning; but what became of the body was never publicly known.

Wild, by his wife at Wolverhampton, had one son, who was near nineteen years old at the time of his father's death; a little before which he came
up

up to London. He was a lad of so turbulent a disposition, that it was thought proper to confine him while his father went to be hanged, for fear he should do some mischief among the mob.—Not long after the execution he sold himself for a servant, and went to the plantations.

Jonathan had five other wives, (or at least women who supplied the place of wives) besides the mother of this boy: nor did he always wait till one was dead before he took another. Mary Milliner was the second, Judith Nun the third; by her he had a daughter; the fourth was Sarah Grigson, alias Perrin; the fifth Elizabeth Man, who cohabited with him four or five years, and then died; the sixth and last survived him, and was afterwards married to another man.

We have now finished our account of this extraordinary criminal, wherein we have carefully avoided the fictitious, extravagant and improbable stories, which abound in all other accounts of him hitherto published. We have been at no small pains in examining into facts. The Marshal's charge, and Wild's answer, from both which we have made large extracts, and the several trials we have interspersed, are sufficient vouchers for the greatest part of this piece, and the rest we received from persons who were well acquainted with his affairs, and who could have no interest in imposing a deception on the public.

The Trial of PHILLIS NOBLE, for Privately Stealing.

AT the sessions held at the Old-Bailey in the month of January, 1725—6, *Phillis Noble* was indicted for stealing a brass box and two guineas, privately, from the person of Benjamin Gosling, on the 3d of January.

The prosecutor delivered his evidence in the following singular manner:—"You must note that I
 " live in White-horse-yard in Drury-Lane; I am a
 " bricklayer's labourer by trade: I work hard for my
 " money, and therefore the more fool I, for taking
 " no better care of it,——and so much for that.—
 " But, as I was a saying, betwixt one and two
 " o'clock in the morning, and a mortal cold night it
 " was,——I am sure I have cause enough to remem-
 " ber it,——for, as I was coming by the corner of
 " Bennet's-Court in Drury-Lane, who should I meet,
 " but the prisoner; and so, says she, "How do you
 " do, my dear,——It's bloody cold weather,——
 " I wish you'd give me a dram." *Whereof*, says I
 " again, "For matter of that, I don't much care
 " if I do, if we can but come to a good fire," And
 " so,——what signifies lying?——We struck a bar-
 " gain and went to a gin-shop, and I thought I had
 " better do so, than wander about the streets all
 " night; though I must needs own, I mought as
 " well have gone home to my wife;—and my wife,
 " though I say it, is as good a woman as ever man
 " laid leg over:——But that's neither here nor
 " there.——The truth of the matter is, I was got a
 " little in for't, and, when I am once in, I never
 " mind

“ mind which end goes foremost; and it’s many a
 “ poor man’s case as well as mine;——and so, Sir,
 “ being with this woman in the gin-shop, we drank
 “ quartern after quartern, ’till the reckoning came
 “ to the tune of 8d. and I had got a brass tobacco-
 “ box in my pocket, with two guineas in it, and a
 “ note upon *command*, for six guineas and some
 “ other odd matters: *Whereof*, I takes out this box
 “ to pay the shot; now, whether she saw the money
 “ in the box, or did not see it, I can’t be positive;
 “ may hap she mought, or, may hap she mought not;
 “ though ’tis no great matter, one way or t’other:
 “ but this I can swear, out of this box I took a shil-
 “ ling, and gave it my landlady to change, and then
 “ put up my box again, and then some other people
 “ came in to drink, and by and by my landlady
 “ brings me a groat out of my shilling, and I went
 “ out with the groat in one hand, and Phillis in
 “ t’other; but, going to put my groat up, I missed
 “ my box, and so I called the watch, and the watch
 “ carried her to the round-house, and there my box
 “ was found thrust down her back, but the devil
 “ a-penny of money was there in it; and my wife
 “ found the note upon her; and there’s an end of
 “ my story.”

Three evidences, one of which was the prosecu-
 cutor’s wife, deposed, that the box and note were
 found in the possession of the prisoner.

In her defence the prisoner said, that it being a
 cold night she went into a gin-shop for a dram of
 anniseed, and there found this Gosling drinking
 with a parcel of bunters, whom he quarrelled with
 and beat, for he was very drunk. He then wanted
 to be rude with the prisoner; but she told him she
 was above making herself familiar with any such fel-
 lows, and immediately left the house; but he follow-
 ed her, thrust her up against a wall, pulled out a
 pistol,

pistol, and swore he would shoot her, if she did not let him ravish her.

The jury did not seem to credit her assertions, for they found her guilty to the value of 10d. in consequence of which she was transported.

Account of the Trial of Major ONEBY, for Murder; with the particulars of his Behaviour.

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the month of March 1725—6, *John Oneby* was indicted for the murder of *William Gower, Esq.* by maliciously giving him, with a drawn sword, in the left part of the belly, near the navel, one mortal wound of the length of one inch and a half, and depth of ten inches, on the 2d of February, 1725—6, of which mortal wound he languished till the next day, and then died.

He was a second time indicted on the Coroner's inquisition for the said murder.

Mr. Hawkins deposed, that between nine and ten o'clock at night, on the 2d of February, *Mr. Blunt*, the deceased, the prisoner, and himself, went from *Will's Coffee-house* in *Covent-Garden* to the *Castle Tavern*, where, in about half an hour, *Mr. Rich* came to them.

After they had drank four bottles of wine the prisoner called for a box of dice, but the drawer saying they had none in the house, the prisoner bid him bring the pepper-box: the drawer brought it, and the dice were laid upon the table, but this deponent knew not by whom.

They

They played low, nobody setting above half a guinea; yet this deponent had no inclination to game, and especially to set the prisoner, and therefore, after a trifling loss, he declined the play, at which the prisoner appeared disgusted, and asked him why he refused; to which he answered, that he should use his own pleasure, whether it was agreeable to the prisoner's humour or not. The rest continued playing, and the deceased lost thirty shillings.

Mr. Rich then said, "Who will set me three half crowns?" upon which the deceased took something out of his pocket, and laying it on the table, covered with his hand, said, "I'll set you three pieces;" and then taking his hand away, the company saw three half-pence. Though the offer was not made to the prisoner, he seemed greatly affronted, and said, "That's very impertinent to set three half-pence." The deceased said, "What do you mean by impertinent?" and the prisoner replied, "You are an impertinent puppy," and presently snatching up a bottle, threw it at the head of the deceased, which beat some powder out of his wig, but did him no hurt.

The deceased in return threw something at the prisoner; but it did not reach him; and then both rising up together went to their swords, which hung up in the room. The deceased being quickest, got his sword first, drew it, and stood in a posture of defence, at a considerable distance from the prisoner, who was advancing, and was drawing his sword to meet him; but Mr. Rich stepped in between, and prevented him.

The deceased then threw away his sword, and they all sat down again, and drank for about half an hour; when the deceased, offering his hand to the prisoner, said, "We have had words, Major, and you was the aggressor; but let us agree." The prisoner answered, "No damn ye, I'll have your blood?"

“blood!” and then turning to this deponent, he said, “Hawkins, you was the occasion of this.”—“Why then,” said Mr. Hawkins, “if you have done with him, and have any thing to say to me, I am your man, and I’ll see you out,”—“No,” replied the prisoner, “I have another chap first.”

In about half an hour after this, which was near three in the morning, the company broke up. This deponent went out of the room first, Mr. Blunt and Mr. Rich following him.

When Mr. Hawkins came into the street it rained, and he ran under a penthouse, where he stood a short time; but not having a chair ready, and seeing none of the company come out, he returned to the room, where he found the deceased wounded, and leaning on a chair in a languishing condition. He died the next morning.

Mr. Rich confirmed the above evidence, and added, that the prisoner was hardly out of the room, when he called to the deceased, “Hark ye, young gentleman, a word with you.” The deceased turned back, and they both re-entered the room. The door was immediately shut fast:—this deponent heard a clashing of swords, and a loud stamp on the floor, which he guessed was made by the prisoner, who was a very heavy man.

Mr. Blunt and this deponent endeavoured to get into the room, but could not readily open the door; but the drawer coming to their assistance, they forced an entrance. The prisoner was then next to the door, and standing with his sword drawn in his right hand, the point of it being towards the deceased, whom he held by the shoulder with his left hand.

This witness was of opinion that the deceased had then no sword in his hand; but his sword was found in the room, bloody and greasy four or five inches from the point. The deceased closed with

with the prisoner, but in such a manner, as if he rather fell towards him through weakness than otherwise, which induced this deponent to think that the wound was given him before Mr. Blunt and himself came into the room.

They now put the wounded man into a chair, and sent for a surgeon.—As this evidence held up his hand to part the prisoner and the deceased, he felt through his coat a little prick by the prisoner's sword, but he believed it was done accidentally. At the same time Mr. Blunt clapped his hand on his belly, and said he was dangerously wounded.

When they came out of the room, this deponent told the prisoner that he was afraid he had killed Mr. Gower:—"No," said he, "I might have done it if I would, but I have only frightened him: but suppose I had killed him, I know what to do in these affairs; for if I had killed him to night, in the heat of passion, I should have had the law on my side; but if I had done it at any other time, it would have looked like a set meeting, and not a rencounter." However, this deponent advised the prisoner to make his escape for fear of the consequences.

This evidence asked the deceased on his death-bed, if he received the wound fairly; to which he answered faintly, "I think I did—but I don't know—what might have happened—if you—had not—come in."

What was sworn by these witnesses was confirmed, in all the material circumstances, by Mr. Blunt; and Mr. Shaw, a surgeon, deposed, that he found the deceased languishing in a chair; that his intestines appeared at the wound, and, by being exposed to the air, began to mortify; that having dressed him, he sent him home; but the next day he found a second rupture of the intestines: that the prisoner died soon afterwards, and that the wound was the cause of his death.

In his defence the prisoner said, that a wager was laid betwixt Mr. Rich and Mr. Blunt, concerning Mr. Mills's acting the part of Julius Cæsar, and was lost by Mr. Blunt. After this a box and dice were called for, but not by him: the drawer said he had dice, but no box, upon which somebody called for a pepper-box. The prisoner flung a main at twelve pence and past it about. Mr. Hawkins refusing to play, the prisoner said he thought there was as good fellowship in a little play as in mere drinking: they then played for half a crown, or three shillings; but when the box came round again the rest refused to play.

At length the deceased offered to set three half-pence, which the prisoner said was very impertinent. A quarrel now arose between them, and the deceased threw a glass at the head of the prisoner, and drew his sword; on which he told him that he acted basely in drawing, when himself had given the affront.

After this the prisoner put on his great coat and was going out. Mr. Hawkins had slipped away, and the other parties being gone out of the room, the deceased pushed the door to, and drawing upon the prisoner, wounded him in the knee and cut his fingers. The prisoner parry'd and closed with the deceased, who endeavoured to stab him in the back, at which time Mr. Blunt came in, and received a wound in his belly, which must have been by the prisoner's sword.

Such was the defence of the prisoner; in whose behalf appeared one Mrs. Gardiner, who deposed, that the prisoner coming to her house in a bloody condition, about two o'clock in the morning, she searched him, and found a wound in his buttock as deep as her finger, which she dressed for him.

Mr. Burdet, a surgeon, deposed, that the evening after the quarrel the prisoner sent a coach to his house,

house, with a letter, informing him that he had been wounded in a rencounter, and desiring this witness to come to him. On examination he found one wound below the prisoner's knee, another on his buttock, and that two of his fingers were cut in the first joint: he also shewed the surgeon three or four holes in his breeches; but none of his wounds were above a quarter of an inch deep, and that in his leg had but just raised the skin.

The court observed that it was plain from the evidence that the prisoner gave the provocation, and that it was not denied but that he afterwards killed the deceased: the question therefore was, whether from the time the prisoner threw the bottle, to the time the deceased received the wound, there was any reconciliation?—If there was not, the court was of opinion that it could be no less than murder.

The jury were of opinion that there was no reconciliation; but not being satisfied as to the murder, they agreed on a special verdict.

The counsel on both sides attending, they stated the principal points of the evidence for the consideration of the judges.

What the prisoner's counsel drew up, was to the following effect,

We find, that the prisoner, the deceased, and three more, met at the tavern, where they all appeared very friendly.—A box and dice were called for,—they played some time together, till Mr. Rich said, “Who will set me three half crowns?”—The deceased put down three half-pence, and said, “I'll set you three pieces.”—The prisoner said, “That's impertinent.”—The deceased answered, “He that says I am impertinent, is a rascal.”—The prisoner threw a bottle, and the deceased threw a glass.—They both got up, and took their swords; but one of the company stepped in, and prevented their engaging.—

They sat down again to drink,—staid about an hour, and then the company broke up.—The prisoner put on his great coat.—They all went out of the room.—The prisoner and the deceased returned, the door was shut, and the clashing of swords was heard.

What the counsel for the king drew up, was to this effect.

We find, that on the 2d of February, the prisoner, the deceased, and three others, were in company at the Castle Tavern, and continued in a peaceable manner for about two hours.—The prisoner then called for a box and dice, but none being to be had, he called for the pepper-box, which was brought.—Dice were found upon the table;—they played at hazard.—Mr. Rich asked, who would set him three half-crowns? The deceased, in a jocular manner, laid down three half-pence, and said, there's three pieces. The prisoner called him an impertinent puppy, and threw a bottle at him, which missed him, but brushed his wig.—The deceased tossed a glass, or a candlestick, at the prisoner, which did not hit him.—They both rose up, and took their swords; but were prevented from fighting.—They sat down again.—The deceased offered to be friends with the prisoner; but the prisoner answered, “No, G—d damn you! I'll have your blood, by G—d!”—In about an hour after this, the company all went out of the room; but the prisoner called to the deceased, and said, “Young gentleman, a word with you.”—They both returned into the room,—the door was shut with violence, and the clashing of swords was heard.—We find, that from the time that the bottle was flung, to the time of the breaking up of the company, there was no reconciliation.

These

These two rough draughts being compared, and some alterations being made, a third was drawn up, which was agreed to, and signed by the jury, and was as follows.

We find, that on the 2d of February last, about ten at night, the prisoner, the deceased, John Rich, Thomas Hawkins, and Michael Blunt, met in a friendly manner in a room in the Castle-Tavern in Drury-Lane. That, after they had been there about two hours, a box and dice were called for. The drawer said they had dice, but no box: The prisoner then said, bring the pepper-box. It was brought. They played at hazard; and after some time Mr. Rich asked who would set him three half-crowns? The prisoner set him; Mr. Rich won, and at the same time the deceased put down three half-pence, and said, "I have set you three pieces." The prisoner said, "he was an impertinent puppy." The deceased answered, "He that calls me an impertinent puppy is a rascal:" Upon which the prisoner took up a bottle, and with violence threw it at the deceased's head; it did not hit him, but only brushed his wig; and he in return tossed a glass or candlestick at the prisoner, but it did not reach him. Then they both arose and took their swords, which both hung up in the room: The deceased, being nimblest, got his sword first and drew it, and stood at a distance upon his own defence. The prisoner was drawing his sword, and coming towards the deceased, but Mr. Rich interposed, and prevented him: Upon which the deceased threw away his sword, and they all sat down again. The deceased not long afterwards, offered his hand to the prisoner, and spoke to this effect: "We have had hot words, Major, " and you were the aggressor, but let us pass it over " and be friends." The prisoner answered, "No, " God

“ God damn you, I’ll have your blood.”—When the reckoning was paid they all went out of the room: The prisoner, who had his great coat thrown over his shoulder, called back the deceased, and said, “ Young man, a word with you;” upon which the deceased returned: They both re-entered the room, the door was shut with violence, and all others excluded. A clashing of swords was heard. The deceased received a mortal wound, of which he died next day: on which day it likewise appeared that the prisoner had three slight wounds. And the deceased, being asked on his death-bed, if he received his wound fairly; he answered faintly, “ I think I did.”—That, from the time of throwing the bottle, to the breaking up of the company, there was no reconciliation.

The prisoner, who had entertained strong hopes of coming off with a verdict of Manlaughter, was now remanded back to Newgate, where he continued tolerably easy for about a year, being free from irons, and lodged in the most commodious room in the goal: and finding by this time, that the prosecutor had taken no steps towards bringing on the hearing of the special verdict before the judges, he grew pretty confident that it would be determined in his favour, and imagined that the prosecutor was of the same opinion.

At length he resolved to move the judges of the King’s-Bench, for a *Concilium* to be made for arguing the special verdict before that court. On Monday, the 5th of February, an Habeas-corpus being issued, he was carried from Newgate to the King’s-Bench bar, where the court ordered a *Concilium* accordingly, and assigned Mr. Serjeant Baines and Mr. Serjeant Eyre to be his counsel; Mr. Masterman to be his clerk in court, and Thomas Oliver Esq. to be his agent or solicitor.

On the Friday following he was again carried to the bar of the King's-Bench court, where Mr. Serjeant Darnel, on the part of the king, opened the special verdict. He was answered on the part of the prisoner by Mr. Serjeant Eyre; after which, the Lord Chief Justice Raymond declared, that he would take the opinion of all his brethren the judges, as soon as they could conveniently meet together, in order finally to determine the case.

The prisoner was ordered back to Newgate, but on his way thither he stopped and dined at the King's-Arms-Tavern in the Strand, where he expressed himself with great joy and satisfaction in being assured, as he said, that the special verdict would be determined in his favour; and that he had nothing now to do but to get into the Army, and repair the loss he had suffered in the prosecution, by plundering the enemy.

The affair continued in suspense till Saturday the 6th of May, 1727, when the judges met at Serjeants-Inn, to put (if possible) an end to it. Mr. Serjeant Baines, being indisposed, could not attend, and therefore Mr. Kettleby was employed for the prisoner.

While their lordships were sitting, the prisoner was extreamly merry in Newgate over a bowl of punch, his favourite liquor, drinking the healths of the judges, who, he said, were then working his deliverance, for, as he had done nothing but what became a man of honour, he was well assured they would not hurt him.

But, in the midst of his mirth, he was interrupted by a rash friend of his, who coming to Newgate, affirmed with a great oath, that eleven of the twelve judges were of opinion he was guilty of wilful murder. This was a great allay to his hopes, and (to use his own expression) *frighted him damnably.*

He

He employed two or three men to attend about Serjeant's-Inn to listen for news; but none of them returning to him that night, it encreased his fears.

The judges, having heard the arguments of the counsel on both sides, broke up about ten at night, without publicly declaring their opinions; few people could speak with certainty; but, from several circumstances which had been taken notice of, it was generally thought, that the prisoner either was, or soon would be declared guilty of murder.

Finding his affairs were now in a dangerous situation, he began to think of mustering up all his friends, for fear he should be driven to the necessity of imploring the clemency of the king.

However, he did not wholly despair of the judges, for he still flattered himself with some hopes that they would at last determine in his favour; till the keeper of Newgate acquainted him, that, in order to prevent his escape, he must submit to be double ironed, and to have a man placed in his room on nights.

He now appeared extreamly shocked, and desired to know, whether it proceeded from a secret order of the judges, or from any false information that the keeper might have had, of his intending to make his escape: he was willing to hope the latter; but the keeper, without giving him satisfaction, ordered his servant to fetter him directly, at which it is said he wept bitterly: but, having in some measure recovered himself, he spent most of the remaining part of the day in writing letters to the lord mayor, and to some of the judges, complaining of the hardships he suffered by this treatment. But the keeper receiving no orders to take the irons off, the Major then concluded that the judges had found him guilty.

The man appointed to lie every night in the Major's room was John Hooper, who was afterwards executioner, and was thought well qualified for

for so important a trust : and indeed his behaviour answered the character given him, for he acquitted himself so well in this employment, that the place of executioner being afterwards vacant, he was immediately promoted to it by virtue of his merit.

But as honest a fellow as Jack was, yet, when the keeper introduced him to the Major, the Major it seems did not much like his looks ; for, said he, “ What the devil do you bring this fellow here for ? whenever I look at him I shall think of hanging.”

Some few days, however, not only reconciled the Major to his new companion, but made him even fond of his company ; for Jack was a comical fellow : he would tell a hundred wild, out-of-the way stories, writhe his face to all the figures in geometry, preach sermons, say his prayers, and play a world of monkey tricks, with which the Major was highly entertained.

About three weeks after this, the King’s council moved for the prisoner to be brought up to the King’s-Bench bar to receive the judgment of the court, relating to the determination of the special verdict. He was accordingly carried up thither on Monday the 12th of June, when the Lord Chief Justice Raymond declared to him, that the judges had unanimously found him guilty of wilful murder ; and acquainted him with the several reasons which induced them to be of that opinion.

The prisoner observing that great stress was laid on that wicked and malicious expression of his to the deceased, “ God damn you, I’ll have your blood,” declared, that as he hoped to find mercy at the hands of Almighty God, he never made use of that expression. In the next place, he begged to be recommended to his Majesty’s clemency, on account of his long and faithful services in the army.

As to the first he was told, that as the words were sworn, and stood in the special verdict, his allegation availed nothing; and to the second, that as that was a court of justice, he must apply elsewhere for mercy. Then the court remanded him back to Newgate, and ordered him to be brought again on Monday following, to receive sentence.

In consequence of this order, on Monday the nineteenth of June, he was carried up a second time, and sentence of death was passed upon him, and his execution was ordered to be on the 3d of July following.

His friends in London had already used their utmost endeavours to procure him a reprieve, but without any prospect of success; and now he was resolved to try his relations in the country, though he had formerly treated them with no small degree of insolence. An appearance of humility was, however, necessary at this time: he therefore wrote very submissive letters to them, begging pardon for what was past, and entreating them to come to town, and assist him at this time of his distress.

Some of them came up from Leicestershire, and one immediately made him a visit; but, upon some disgust, returned into the country in greater haste than he came from thence, which made it believed that the Major's haughty temper had got the better of his hypocrisy. Another gentleman indeed, though not so nearly related as the former, continued with him till the day of his death, and acted the part of a real friend on all occasions.

The Major pretended an intimacy with most of the nobility in the kingdom; but, when his relations came to enquire into the state of his affairs, they could not meet with one who was willing to speak for him, nor even so much as to deliver his petition.

Some

Some few days before his death, a paper was published under the title of, "The weight of blood: Being the case of Major John Oneby." It contained the trial taken verbatim, from the Sessions Paper: part of Mr. Hales of Eaton's sermon upon duels, and Sir Richard Steel's Theatre, Numb. 26, on the same subject; besides which, there are only three or four short introductory and concluding paragraphs.—In the latter are the following passages.

"—But as to Oneby, 'tis greatly to be feared, that, as he lived a profligate, he will die a reprobate, having declared since his conviction, That neither his confinement, nor his crime, ever gave him so much uneasiness as his damned garters, (as he is pleased, to stile his fetters.)—After sentence pronounced this bravo shewed outward marks of a very great internal shock."—

A little before this paper appeared in print, the writer of it went to the Major in Newgate, and told him he had heard that such a thing was in the press, but would use his utmost endeavours to have it suppressed, for fear it should obstruct the measures that were taking to obtain a reprieve.

It is not unlikely that the writer wanted matter to fill up his paper, and came with this pretence, in hopes of hearing or seeing something that might answer his purpose. But whatever was the real motive, as soon as the Major saw the paper, and understood that the person who had been with him was concerned in it, he fell into a terrible fury, and made no scruple of bestowing his curses upon him, even in the presence of the Reverend Ordinary of Newgate.

After this he tried several stratagems to decoy the poor author to the prison, in order to give him proper discipline, though they proved ineffectual; and

this he had so much at heart, that no more than three days before his death, he declared, that he desired but one thing before he left the world; and being asked what it was? he answered, “ Nothing “ but to have the satisfaction of taking my leave “ of that rascally fellow, with a bull’s pizzle.”

It was reported, that, about the same time, an Undertaker came to the Press-yard in Newgate, and sent in the following letter to the Major.

Honoured Sir,

THIS is to inform you, that I follow the business of an Undertaker, in Drury-Lane, where I have lived many years, and am well known to several of your friends. As you are to die on Monday, and have not, as I suppose, spoke to any body else about your funeral, if your honour shall think fit to give me orders, I will perform it as cheap, and in as decent a manner, as any man alive.

Your Honour’s Unknown

Humble Servant,

G. H.

The contents of this letter put Oneby into such a passion, that the Undertaker thought it expedient to make off with as much haste as he could.

It is said, that at night, when John Hooper came as usual to watch in the Major’s chamber, the Major called to him, “ Jack!” (said he) “ What do you “ think? D—n my blood if there was not an Un- “ dertaker here to-day: the son of a bitch said he “ would bury me as decently as any man alive. “ O D—n the rogue! I wish I could but meet “ with him!”

The

The Major continued to write letters to several persons of distinction, begging them to intercede for him; but without effect.—On Saturday, the 1st of July, his friends sent him word, “That his petition had been delivered.—But all was over.”

About ten o'clock that night he went to bed as usual. At four the next morning he called for a glass of brandy and water, and then, raising himself up in his bed, he wrote his last will and testament in the following words:

“Cousin Turvill; Give Mr. Ackerman, the turn-
“key below stairs, half a guinea; and Jack, who
“waits in my room, five shillings. The poor devils
“have had a great deal of trouble with me since I
“have been here.”

Having dispatched this business, he laid down again, and desired Jack and another man who waited at the door, to be still, that he might compose himself against the coming of his friends. About seven he said faintly to his footman, who then came into the room, “Who is that? Philip?” A gentleman, coming to his bed-side soon after, called “Major! “Major!” but hearing no answer, he drew open the curtains, and found him weltring in his blood, and just expiring. Mr. Green, a neighbouring Surgeon, was instantly sent for; but before he came the Major was dead. His death was occasioned by a deep wound that he made in his wrist with a penknife.

We have taken some of the foregoing particulars from a pamphlet, intituled, “A Narrative of the
“life of John Oneby, Esq.” and shall now add a few more from the same piece, relating to him before the murder of Mr. Gower.

“John Oneby—aged about 53 years, was born
“at Barwell in Leicestershire.—His father was an
“Attorney

“ Attorney of unblemished character, and practised
 “ with great success.—He took care to bestow an
 “ education on his son John,—as designing him for
 “ the business of the law; who accordingly served
 “ a clerkship with a gentleman of great note, and
 “ eminence in his profession; but, proving a youth
 “ of an aspiring and haughty temper, his head ran
 “ upon things greater than the provision they had
 “ made, or were capable of making for him.

“ The custody of the great seal of England being
 “ committed to Sir Nathan Wright, a very near
 “ relation of Mr. Oneby's mother, application
 “ was made to this gentleman, to bestow some gen-
 “ teel employment on his young kinsman. — But
 “ nothing greater than the place of his train-bearer
 “ could be procured.

“ His great spirit brooked with it for some time,
 “ hoping that something better would offer.—But, as
 “ nothing did, he quitted the Lord-Keeper's service,
 “ and took up a resolution of going abroad into the
 “ army.

“ His friends soon procured him a commission, and
 “ he served in several campaigns under the late Duke
 “ of Marlborough in Flanders, where he acquired
 “ the reputation of a gallant officer, having distin-
 “ guished himself in several battles and sieges, and
 “ received divers wounds.

“ He having once the misfortune to quarrel with
 “ an officer of horse at Bruges, they went out toge-
 “ ther from the camp and fought. His antagonist
 “ received a mortal wound, and died the next day.
 “ But this being done, as the people of honour call
 “ it, *fairly*, Mr. Oneby was called to a Court-
 “ Martial, and very honourably acquitted; and had
 “ now established that vain, empty character, so
 “ much admired by too many in the army, viz. of
 “ *having felled his man*.

“ The

“ The next exploit of this nature was performed by him at Port-Royal, in Jamaica; where, fighting a duel with one Lieutenant Tooley, they were both desperately wounded. Mr. Tooley languished for about eight months, and then died; but, having been long before reconciled to Mr. Oneby, the latter was never called in question about his death.

“ Having served about 22 years in the army, and rising gradually, according to his right of seniority, he at length attained to the rank of a Major in the Regiment of Dragoons commanded by the Hon. Brigadier Honeywood. But, upon the peace of Utrecht—his pay was curtailed, and a stop put to his farther preferment.

“ In these circumstances he returned to England, versed in all kinds of vice, particularly gaming, to which he had much addicted himself in the Camp, and had there met several revolutions of fortune; sometimes an auspicious hand of dice having enabled him to make an entertainment for the chief generals in the army; his ambition leading him to great profuseness that way, when it has been in his power; and at other times his ill luck has reduced him to scandalous necessities. He now associated himself with the principal gamesters of the town, designing to support himself after their example; and frequented all the public places of resort, where gentlemen played, being seldom without cards or dice in his pockets. And there is no doubt but it was he who conveyed the dice upon the table at the Castle-Tavern, in Drury-lane, which produced gaming; the consequence whereof was then the murder of Gower; and since that of himself.” Let the youth of these kingdoms learn from hence to shun the pernicious practice of gaming, which is always attended with very disagreeable consequences, and frequently brings its votaries to an untimely death!

Account of the Trials and Behaviour of EDWARD BURNWORTH, WILLIAM BLEWIT, EMANUEL DICKENSON, THOMAS BERRY, JOHN LEGEE, and JOHN HIGGS, who were executed at Kingston for Murder.

AT the assizes held at Kingston, in the County of Surry, on the 1st of April 1726, the six criminals abovementioned were, on the fullest evidence, convicted of the murder of Thomas Ball in the Mint, Southwark; but as the substance of the evidence against them is comprized in the following account of their lives and behaviour, we shall give the whole in the narrative form, as likely to prove more agreeable to our readers, than a dull repetition of what each particular witness said on the trial.

Edward Burnworth, alias Frazier, was descended of poor, but honest parents: his father, who was a painter, dying while he was young, he was early in life thrown into the company of wicked persons: his mother lived in the Park, Southwark, in a very mean manner.

He was put apprentice to a Buckle-maker in Grub-Street, with whom he served out his time; but during his apprenticeship he associated himself with pick-pockets, thieves, &c. and in particular with William Blewit, Emanuel Dickenson, Thomas Berry, John Legee, William Marjoram, John Higgs, John Wilson, John Mason, Thomas Meakins, — Gillingham, John Barton, William Swift, and Kit Leonard.

Being entered into this society, and frequenting the ring in Moorfields, kept by one Frazier, he acquired the name of young Frazier, of which he

was

was so fond, that he chose rather to be called by that name, than by that of Burnworth.

He soon became very dextrous in picking pockets of handkerchiefs, snuff-boxes, &c. and then advanced a step higher in the mystery of thieving, to snatching swords, women's pockets, &c.

He usually exercised this trade between the Royal Exchange and Charing Cross, without attempting any thing farther, till being taken up on suspicion of picking pockets, he was committed to New-prison, Clerkenwell: but he had not been long there before he found means to make his escape.

However, the danger he had been in did not deter him from following his former vicious courses; but as he was apprehensive of being re-taken, he endeavoured to avoid being seen in the day-time, except in company with a number of his confederates, who now made a practice of idling away the day in the fields about London.

One night Burnworth ventured into the Old Bailey, and went into a public house, where he was told that Quilt Arnold, a fellow belonging to Jonathan Wild, had been in search of him for some days past; and understanding that Arnold was then alone in a back room, he went to him with a loaded pistol in his hand, and after expostulating with him, called for a glass of brandy, and throwing some gunpowder into it, he compelled Arnold to drink it on his knees, and with many imprecations to swear, that he would never touch or meddle with him directly or indirectly, or give any manner of information against him: after which he retired, leaving him to recover himself from the terror he was under as well as he could.

Not long after this adventure he began to commit robberies on the high-roads, and in the foot-paths, and grew so dextrous at house-breaking, that he was an equal proficient with the late Jack Sheppard.

On the day preceeding the murder hereafter mentioned, was committed on the body of Thomas Ball, this same Burnworth, in company with John Barton, who was convicted for another burglary the sessions before, proposed to go and break open the house of an old justice of the peace in Clerkenwell, and pitched upon that house rather than any other, not in expectation of getting a greater booty thereby, but in prejudice to him, because he had been before committed by him; and the time being agreed upon, about twelve the same night they began their enterprize, and executed it successfully, carrying off divers things of value, and as they then believed, a considerable quantity of plate, and made their retreat to Copenhagen House, where they spent the greatest part of the following day.

At Copenhagen House they began a partition of the booty they had got; but when they came to a survey of the plate, Burnworth perceived it to be only brass silvered, damned it as a thing of no value, and would have thrown it away; Barton opposed it, and would have it kept; here they differed, and in the interim came Blewitt, Berry, Dickenson, Higgs, Wilson, Legee, and Marjoram, and joined their company: at length Burnworth and Barton agreed to toss up at whose disposal the silvered ware should be; they tossed up accordingly, and it fell to Burnworth to dispose thereof as he thought fit, who immediately carried it to the New-River side, and threw it in there, wishing he had the old justice there who should have shared the same fate.

They all wandered up and down for some time, in order to pass the time away, they not being then in any want of money, nor caring to venture into the town till towards the evening, excepting Barton only, who left their company and retired homewards.

While

While they were amusing themselves there came a confederate of theirs from Chick Lane, (who used to assist them in disposing of their stolen goods) who informed them that several constables had been in his neighbourhood, in search of people of their profession, and advised them to be cautious how they appeared in that part of the town.

They took this hint to consult their safety, in order to which no method appeared so proper as to keep in a body, each of them having three or four pistols loaded with balls, besides short daggers concealed under their cloaths.

Having rambled about the fields till the dusk of the evening, they resolved to venture into town; and coming through Turnmill-street, they there accidentally met the keeper of New-Prison, from whence Burnworth had broke out about six weeks before.

The keeper seeing Burnworth on the opposite side of the way, called to him, and desired to speak with him. Burnworth seemed to hesitate; when the keeper, seeing so many of his companions, told him he need not be under any apprehension, for he only desired to speak with him, and would not molest him; to which Burnworth replied with an oath, that he was not afraid of him, and that it was not in his power to do him any injury; and concealing a pistol in his hand, stepped across the way, whilst his seven companions stood still waiting for him; but being all known, or at least suspected in the neighbourhood, the people began to gather in crowds about them, which being observed by Burnworth's companions, they called to him to come away; on which he took a hasty leave of the keeper, and joined his associates, who now finding the mob increasing upon them, thought it most prudent to retreat to the fields, which they did in a close body; and to deter the populace from following them farther, they faced about, and presenting their pistols, swore

they would fire upon any person who should dare to set one foot farther in pursuit of them; upon which they gave back, and suffered them to retreat in safety to the fields, from whence they made directly for the water side, and taking a boat at Black Friars, crossed over to the Bank-side, and from thence they went to the Musick-house, expecting there to meet some other of their companions.

Having remained there some time, they quitted that place, and walked together into St. George's-Fields, where Edward Burnworth acquainted his companions of the danger of their apprehension from Thomas Ball, who kept a Geneva shop in the Mint, who was attempting to act the part of Jonathan Wild, and betray his old friends and acquaintance; telling them, if they would all stand by him and assist him, he would go immediately and shoot the said Ball through the head.

This horrid proposal was no sooner made by Burnworth than agreed to by all the rest, except Higgs, who seeming to disapprove thereof, so exasperated the others, that they accused him of pusillanimity and cowardice, and Burnworth immediately advanced at the head of his companions, but Higgs slipped away in the dark.

When they came to Ball's house, they enquired of his wife for him; she replied, "He was at the next door, a public house, and that she would step and call him, and went accordingly;" Burnworth immediately followed her, and meeting Ball at the door, took him fast by the collar, and dragged him into his own house, where he began to expostulate with him the reason why he had attempted to take him, and how ungenerous it was for him to seek to betray his old friends and acquaintance.

Ball apprehending their mischievous intentions, addressed himself to Blewitt, and begged they would not murder him; but Burnworth with an oath replied,

plied, " That he should never get a penny by betraying him," and thereupon immediately shot him.

The murder being committed, they all went out of the house, and that the neighbours might suppose the firing the pistol to have been done without any ill intention, Blewit fired another in the street over the tops of the houses, saying aloud, " We are got safe into town, and there is no danger of meeting with any rogues now."

Ball attempted to get as far as the door, but in vain; for he dropped immediately, and expired in a very few minutes.

The barbarous design being accomplished, they went directly towards the Falcon stairs, intending to cross the water again; in their way to which they met with Higgs, who was also going to the water-side; when they charged him with being a pusillanimous cowardly dog, and Burnworth proposed to the company to shoot their old comrade Higgs, because he had deserted them in their late expedition; but his life was saved by the intercession of Marjoram.

They crossed the water from the Falcon to Pig-stairs, and, lest there should be any pursuit after them, they resolved to go to the Boar's-Head Tavern in Smithfield, which they thought a secure place as it was at a convenient distance from the water-side, and a place where they were not known.

They staid at the Boar's-head till near ten o'clock, when they divided themselves into parties for the night, in pursuit of their old practices.

After the commission of the abovementioned murder, they were cautious of appearing in public; and soon afterwards Blewit, Berry, and Dickenson set out for Harwich, and went over in the packet-boat to Helvoetsluys; and Higgs some little time afterwards shipped himself on board the Monmouth at Spithead;

Spithead; notwithstanding which, he was discovered in the following manner: his brother in London having written a letter to him, gave it to the mate of a ship to carry to Spithead; the mate accidentally fell in company with one Arthur, a watchman belonging to St. Sepulchre's parish, who knowing Higgs to have been a companion of Burnworth and his gang, acquainted Mr. De-la-Fay, Under Secretary of State, therewith; whereupon two messengers and the said watchman were sent to Spithead to fetch up the said Higgs, which they did accordingly.

Wilson forsook his confederates, but about two years after the murder was committed, he was taken and executed for it at Kingston.

But Burnworth, with others of his companions, had the audacity not only to continue in and about the town, and to rob in the roads and fields, but had likewise the unparalleled assurance to attack the Earl of Harborough in his chair in Piccadilly; upon which the chairmen with their poles knocked one of his companions down, and the Earl coming out of the chair with his drawn sword, they thought fit to march off; Burnworth shot one of the chairmen in the shoulder, whereby they prevented their pursuing them, and had the opportunity of bringing off their companion, whom the chairman had knocked down.

These audacious villains occasioned his Majesty to put out a proclamation for apprehending Burnworth, Blewit, &c.

As soon as the proclamation was published, a gentleman who had bought one of them, going into an ale-house in White Cross-street, took the proclamation out of his pocket and read it to the company; Marjoram happened to be there, though no body there knew him, and conjecturing some or other of his companions for the sake of the reward, and of a pardon, would turn evidence against him, re-
solved

solved to embrace the opportunity, and in the evening he went to a constable in Smithfield, and desired to put himself under his protection; and that he might be carried before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, where he would make a discovery of his accomplices.

Agreeable to this request the constable taking him into custody, he was that night confined in Woodstreet-Compter, and the next morning he was brought before his lordship, where he made a full confession of all the aforesaid particulars, and gave information where Legee might be met with; who, according to the direction given by Marjoram, was apprehended in White-Cross-Street, and after a long examination was committed to Newgate.

During this transaction, the account of Marjoram's having surrendered himself being spread over the town, several of his old companions thinking themselves in danger, forsook their old habitations; and John Barton, waiting near Goldsmith's Hall till Marjoram should be carried before the Lord Mayor, at length saw him come along with the constable, and stepping up towards him with a pistol in his hand, cried, "Damn ye, I'll shoot ye;" and instantly discharged his pistol.

As Marjoram saw and heard him, he popped down his head just as Barton fired at him, whereby the ball only grazed on his back. Barton made his escape; for the action was so sudden, that the people could not recover from their surprize time enough to apprehend him.

Barton was informed of Marjoram's having surrendered himself by their friend in Chick-Lane, who had before given them notice of the danger of their being apprehended, in the fields, in the afternoon preceeding the murder of Ball; for which intelligence Marjoram made him a present of sixty or seventy

seventy pair of stockings, which they had stolen from a hosier's shop they had broke open. .

Dickenfon, Blewit and Berry being gone for Holland, Higgs on board a ship, Wilson absconded, Legee in Newgate, and Marjoram having surrendered himself; there now remained only Burnworth in town and at liberty, of all the eight persons mentioned in the proclamation, and great endeavours were used to apprehend him, but for some time without effect.

While the search was making after him he broke open the house of Mr. Beesly, a distiller in Clare-market, from whence he took notes to the amount of some hundred pounds, several pieces of plate, and other goods; but thinking the plate was only white-metal, he threw it away, and one Jones picking it up, was afterwards apprehended, and being convicted, was executed; but Burnworth owned he committed this robbery himself.

Though Burnworth knew the proclamation was out, with a reward of 300l. for the apprehending him, yet he seemed to defy all attempts to take him, and had the audacity one morning to go into a public house near Holborn-Bridge, where he was known, and sitting down by the door, with a pistol ready charged in his hand, he called for a pint of beer, which being brought him he drank off, and throwing down three half-pence for the same, went off without the least interruption.

At this time Burnworth lodged with the wife and sister of one Kitt Leonard, another of their companions, who had been for some time a prisoner in the New Goal for the county of Surry; Kitt Leonard thought it would be a means of recommending himself to the mercy of the government if he discovered him, and accordingly he ordered his wife to apply to some of his Majesty's justices of the peace to acquaint them of his intention, which she doing, the proposition

position was readily approved of; and accordingly six persons being appointed to take him, they were planted at an adjoining alehouse, where Kate, the wife of Kit Leonard, was to give them the signal.

On Shrove-Tuesday, about six o'clock in the evening, Kate Leonard and her sister, and Burnworth, being all together, Kate proposed to fry some pancakes for supper, and accordingly her sister set about them: Burnworth had put off his furtout coat, in the pockets and lining whereof he had several pistols; there was a little back door to the house which Burnworth usually kept upon the latch only, in order to make his escape if he should be surprized in that house; this door Kate privately bolted unperceived by Burnworth; and whilst her sister was frying the pancakes, Kate went to the alehouse for a pot of beer, when having given the men who were waiting for him the signal, she returned, and entering the house pretended to lock the door, but designedly missed the staple.

The door being thus upon the jar only, while Kate Leonard was giving the beer to Burnworth, six persons rushed suddenly into the room; when Burnworth hearing the noise, and being fearful of a surprize, jumped up, thinking to have escaped at the back door; but not knowing that it was bolted, they were upon him before he could get it open, and holding his arms behind him, one of them tied him, whilst another fired a pistol over his head to intimidate him: they then took him before a justice of the peace, who, after a long examination, committed him to Newgate.

During his confinement, his emissaries, supposing Kate Leonard to have been the chief cause of his being apprehended, attempted to murder her, by firing a pistol at her one night as she was going in at her own door; and several attempts of the like nature

being made, the justices ordered a sufficient watch to attend the house every night, to prevent the execution of their design, and to apprehend any who should make the attempt.

When in Newgate, Burnworth was confined in the Condemned-Hold for security, where he continued from the time of his commitment to the 13th of March, when seven other criminals under sentence of death being confined with him, he concerted an escape in the following manner.

Having procured an iron crow to be handed to him, through the small hole made to admit the light into the Condemned-Hold, he spirited up the other prisoners to attempt an escape, and they began to put their design in execution as soon as the gaol was locked up, and they were under no apprehensions of being visited by the keepers till the next morning: and whilst some of them sung psalms to prevent the noise being heard, the rest were employed in breaking down the wall with the iron crow.

They pulled out stones to the quantity of about two cart-loads, and piled them up against the door; so that in the morning when the keepers came for five malefactors who were to die that day, they could not get in till two o'clock in the afternoon, and then the prisoners themselves removed the stones from the door.

Hereupon Burnworth was removed into another apartment called the Bilboe-Room, and additional irons were put upon him. While he was here he procured files, saws, &c. with which he sawed off his irons, and then broke through the wall of the Bilboe-Room into the women's apartment, and with his saws fell to work upon the iron bars, in the windows of which there are three tire one within another, the first of which he soon cut quite out, and was working upon the others, when one of the women
discovered

discovered his attempt; upon which he was taken from his work, brought back to the Condemned-Hold, and there chained down to the floor, where we shall leave him whilst we give some account of his associates.

William Blewitt was born in the Parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, his father was a Porter, and his mother sold herbs, &c. in the said parish. His parents were in very mean circumstances, and he (at the charge of the parish) was bound an apprentice to a Perfumer of gloves; but he soon became acquainted with a crew of profligate wretches, by whose advice he ran into various kinds of wickedness, as picking pockets, shop-lifting, &c. which he practised successfully for many years, till about two years since he happened to be caught in the fact, was sent to Newgate, and convicted for transportation, when with divers others of the same profession, both males and females, he was shipped off for the Plantations: but a design having been formed by the other criminals to make their escape, (to which purpose their friends had supplied them with saws, files, &c. which were concealed in cakes of gingerbread) he being admitted into the secret, resolved to purchase his own liberty at the expence of his companions, and acquainting the captain of the vessel with their intention, he caused them to be searched, and the saws, files, &c. were found, agreeable to the information.

Hereupon the Captain gave Blewit his liberty, upon which he posted up to London, where, in concert with his old acquaintance, he renewed his former practices, and being soon committed to his old lodging in Newgate, was tried for returning from transportation, and convicted: but pleading the good service he had done in preventing the escape of so many abandoned wretches, the court thought proper to respite the execution till the return of the Captain, when finding Blewit's allegation to be true, his sen-

tence was changed into that of transportation, with the liberty of transporting himself to any foreign country.

Having by this means obtained his liberty, he neglected to transport himself pursuant to his sentence, but pursued his old courses, and associated himself with the lower class of thieves and pick-pockets, till he joined Burnworth and his companions.

During these connections he married several wives; the first of which is believed to have been an honest and modest woman, till drove to such extremities as induced her to take some indirect methods to support herself: this woman, came to see him in Newgate during his last confinement, and died in the lodge.

Blewit was one of the accomplices in the murder of Ball, as abovementioned; after which he went over in the packet-boat to Holland; but when the King's proclamation came to the hands of the honourable Mr. Finch, the British Resident at the Hague, he enquired of several English gentlemen, whether any such persons as described in the proclamation, had been seen in Rotterdam; and understanding there had, he immediately applied to the States-General at the Hague, and by their direction to the lords of Rotterdam, obtained an order for the securing of them any where within the province.

The messenger coming by virtue of the said order, and with the assistance of the Schoots Denoirs, or Sheriffs Officers, seized Blewit at the Hamburgh-Arms in Rotterdam: his companions Dickenson and Berry were just before gone on ship-board, and had left Rotterdam, but Blewit was carried to the Stadt-house-Prison in Rotterdam, and the officers went in pursuit of his companions to the Brill, where the vessel not being cleared out, they seized them both, and brought them back to Rotterdam, where they were
very

very strongly hand-cuffed, ironed, and confined in the Stadthouse with their friend Blewit, where we will leave them for a little time, to relate some particulars of Dickenson.

Emanuel Dickenson was born of very honest parents, but his father dying whilst he was very young, he had liberty to follow those courses his vicious inclinations led him to; and his mother not having wherewith to support at such extravagant rates, him, his brother, and three sisters, was obliged to submit to their taking such courses as end in ruin and misery; one of his sisters was at that time in Wood-street-Compter, and the rest were dispersed up and down in different parts. He began very early to keep vicious and profligate company, by whom he was induced to practice the trade of picking pockets, &c. for eight years.

He was once convicted for snatching a gentleman's hat off his head in the Strand, for which fact he would have been transported; but whilst he lay under conviction for this crime, his mother procured a free pardon for him, upon alledging that he was the son of a gentleman who had a considerable post in the army; but he soon returned to his old courses, and continued to herd with such companions as he picked up in Newgate, where he had got acquainted with Burnworth, Blewit, &c. and with them he associated till the murder of Ball, in which being concerned, he fled to Holland for refuge.

Blewit, Berry, and himself continued about a month at Rotterdam before they were apprehended, and were on the point of leaving Holland at the time they were apprehended.

Thomas Berry had nothing to boast in point of parentage or education, for his mother was a common beggar, and suffered him when a boy to lie
about

about the streets pilfering what he could lay his hands on, and to herd with thieves, pick-pockets, &c.

Having been in Bridewell, New-Prison, &c. and been three times committed to Newgate, he was at length cast for transportation; but getting away from the vessel, and being acquainted with Burnworth, Blewit, and others, he soon engaged in their confederacy, and was assisting in the abovementioned murder; after which he fled to Holland with Dickenson and Blewit, and was apprehended with Dickenson at the Brill.

Mr. Finch having secured Dickenson, Blewit, and Berry, applied to the States-General for permission to send them to England, which they readily granted, and ordered a guard of soldiers to attend them on board a ship, besides the king's messengers, who were sent over on purpose for them.

They were accordingly put on board the Delight Sloop, Captain Samuel Taylor, at the Brill, and all strongly ironed. When they arrived at the Nore they were met by two other messengers, who assisted in conducting them up the river.

They were extremely merry on shipboard, diverting themselves as if their circumstances had been much happier; and when they came into the river, seeing a press-gang in a boat, they called out to the lieutenant, daring him to come and press them for his majesty's service.

When they arrived at the Tower they were put into a boat, with the messengers attending them, and three boats to guard them, to wit, one on each side, and one in the rear, and in each boat a Corporal and a File of Musqueteers, who attended them all the way up to Westminster, where being arrived, they were carried before Mr. Justice Chalk, and Mr. Justice Blackerby; after which they were all three put into a coach together, and were conducted by

by a party of the Foot-Guards that evening to Newgate. As soon as they arrived, they had the honour of being conducted to their old friend Edward Burnworth, who congratulated them on their safe arrival, and they condoled with him on his confinement.

On Wednesday the 30th of March, Burnworth, Blewit, Berry and Dickenson, were loosed from their fastnings in the Condemned-Hold, and with Legee and Higgs were put into a waggon, being all handcuffed and chained together therein, to be carried down to Kingston, under a guard of the Duke of Bolton's horse.

When they came out of Newgate they were very merry, charging the guard to take care that no misfortune happened to them, and calling upon the numerous crowds of spectators, both at their getting into the waggon and afterwards, as they passed along the road, to shew the respect they bore them by hallowing, and to pay them the compliments due to gentlemen of their profession; and they called for several bottles of wine, that they might drink to their good journey.

During their journey they endeavoured to shew themselves very merry and pleasant, by their facetious discourse to the spectators, and frequently threw money amongst the people who followed them, diverting themselves with seeing them strive for it; and Blewit in particular, having thrown some halfpence among the mob, a little boy picked up one of them, and calling to Blewit, told him, that as sure as he would be condemned at Kingston, so sure would he (the boy) have his name engraved thereon; upon which Blewit took a shilling out of his pocket, and gave it to the boy, telling him there was something towards defraying the charge of engraving, and bade him be as good as his word, which the boy faithfully promised.

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In this manner were they conducted to Kingston, where they arrived between eleven and twelve o'clock, and were all six confined in the Stock-house.

The Lord Chief Justice Raymond, and Mr. Justice Denton, arrived at Kingston the same day, to hold the Assizes for the County of Surry, and the next day the prisoners were arraigned, all of whom pleaded Not Guilty, except Burnworth, who refused to plead, unless some effects, which he said were taken from him by the persons who apprehended him, were returned.

Hereupon his thumbs were tied and strained, as usual in such cases; but he still refusing to plead, the court passed sentence on him to be pressed to death, in consequence of which he was carried down to the Stock-house, and the press laid upon him, wherein he continued for the space of an hour and three minutes, under a weight of three hundred three quarters and two pounds: whilst he continued under the press, he endeavoured to beat his brains out against the floor.

The High-Sheriff himself was present during this punishment, and frequently exhorted him to plead to the indictment, which at last he consented to do; and being brought up to court, after a trial which lasted from eight in the morning until one in the afternoon, on the first day of April, they were all six found guilty of the indictment, and being remanded back to the Stock-house, were all chained and stapled down to the floor.

After their conviction, they diverted themselves with repeating jests and stories, particularly with the manner of their escaping before out of the hands of justice, and the robberies and offences they had committed; and it being proposed for the satisfaction of the world, for them to leave the particulars of the several robberies by them committed, Burnworth replied, that were he to relate all the robberies
he

he had committed, a hundred sheets of paper, wrote as close as could be, would not contain them.

Notwithstanding what had been alledged by Higgs, of his forsaking his companions in the fields, it appeared by other evidence, that he followed his companions to Ball's house, and was seen near the door during the time the murder was committed, with a pistol in his hand.

On Monday the fourth day of April they received sentence of death; Mr. Justice Denton made a very pathetic speech to them, and they begged the court to indulge them with the liberty of seeing their friends, which was granted; and being remanded back again to prison, their thoughts were wholly bent on making their escapes; for which purpose they had small files, which were concealed in the waistbands of their breeches, and Blewit found means to convey a letter to an acquaintance, who was to supply them with saws, pistols, &c. and some opium, which they designed to give the keepers in some wine or beer.

Blewit's brother coming to them, was over-heard to say, that he had forgot the opium: and Burnworth's mother visiting him, the keepers searched her, and found upon her several implements to assist them in making their escape, upon which she was seized, and confined in the same prison.

There was also found upon one of them a large clasp knife, with which, if they could not otherwise have effected their escape, they intended to have murdered the persons who guarded them.

If they had succeeded in this attempt, their design was to have set fire to a large stack of bavins adjoining to the prison, and to two or three other places in the town, that they might have an opportunity of retreating to a sufficient distance while

the inhabitants were busied in stopping the progress of the flames.

The next day, being Tuesday, Burnworth called to one of the guards who attended them, and merrily told him, that if he did not take care to see his body brought back after his execution, that he might be decently buried, he would meet him in a dark entry, and pull off his nose: so thoughtless was he of his approaching fate.

On Wednesday morning about ten o'clock, these six criminals (together with Richard Blackburn, condemned for a highway-robbery) were put into a cart, and attended by a company of foot soldiers to Kingston gallows.

In their way to the place of execution their behaviour was much more decent than before; they appeared serious and devout, and Blewit seeing one Mr. Warwick among the spectators, desired to speak to him, which being granted, he on his knees asked pardon of Mr. Warwick for an attempt he had once made upon his life, by presenting a pistol at him, upon suspicion that Mr. Warwick had formerly given information of him.

When they arrived at the fatal tree, they were all six (together with Blackburn) tyed up. Blewit and Dickenson were the most devout and serious, and prayed with great earnestness, desiring their example might be a warning to all young men: and Blewit desired the spectators not to reflect on his mother upon his account; for that she had often with tears, and on her knees, requested him to forsake his wicked life, which he confessed to have followed for sixteen years past, and said his first fact was stealing a silver spoon in the Old-Bailey. He had given his cloaths to his mother, but being informed he was to be hung in chains, he desired his brother that his mother might return them, to prevent his being hung up in his shirt. Blewit not only named
the

the Penitential Psalm at the place of execution, but repeated the words of it to the other criminals, and set the tune to it.

Dickenson said he had served for some time as a foot soldier under his father, who had been a lieutenant, and not a major as he was commonly called.

Blewit, Dickenson, and Berry, had provided coffins, not expecting to be hung in chains. Blewit desired the executioner to tie him up in the manner that he might be soonest out of pain; after which they all six mutually kissed each other, and after some private ejaculations the cart drew off, and Dickenson was observed to die very hard, for after he had hung about two minutes, the agonies of death being strong upon him, he kicked off one of his shoes and loosened the other.

As for Blackburn who was executed with them for robbing on the highway, we shall only say that he was grossly ignorant and illiterate, and behaved himself very stupidly; he indeed acknowledged he had been a common robber for several years past, and very much infested the Kingston road, especially near the place where they suffered.

After they had hung the usual time they were cut down, Blackburn's body was carried off in a coach by the surgeons. The bodies of the other six were brought in a waggon to the New Goal in Southwark, where they were put in irons.

Burnworth and Blewit were hung up in St. George's Fields, near the place where the murder was committed: Dickenson and Berry were hung upon Kennington Common; but by permission of the government, the body of Dickenson, (whose father lost his life in Flanders, while fighting for his country) was taken down after having hung one day, and delivered to his friends for interment: Legee and Higgs were hung in chains on Putney Common.

The abovementioned criminals were executed at Kingston on the 12th of April, 1726.

It may now be proper to mention a few particulars respecting Marjoram, who having convicted his companions at Kingston Assizes, was sent back to the New Goal in Southwark, where he laid some months, and then obtained his discharge.

On the 29th of September 1726, before he had been a week at liberty, going with a new companion out of Charterhouse-street into Long Lane, he saw three butchers before him, and stepping up behind one of them, he cut the string of his apron, and took away his steel; but being immediately pursued, he was taken in Barbican.

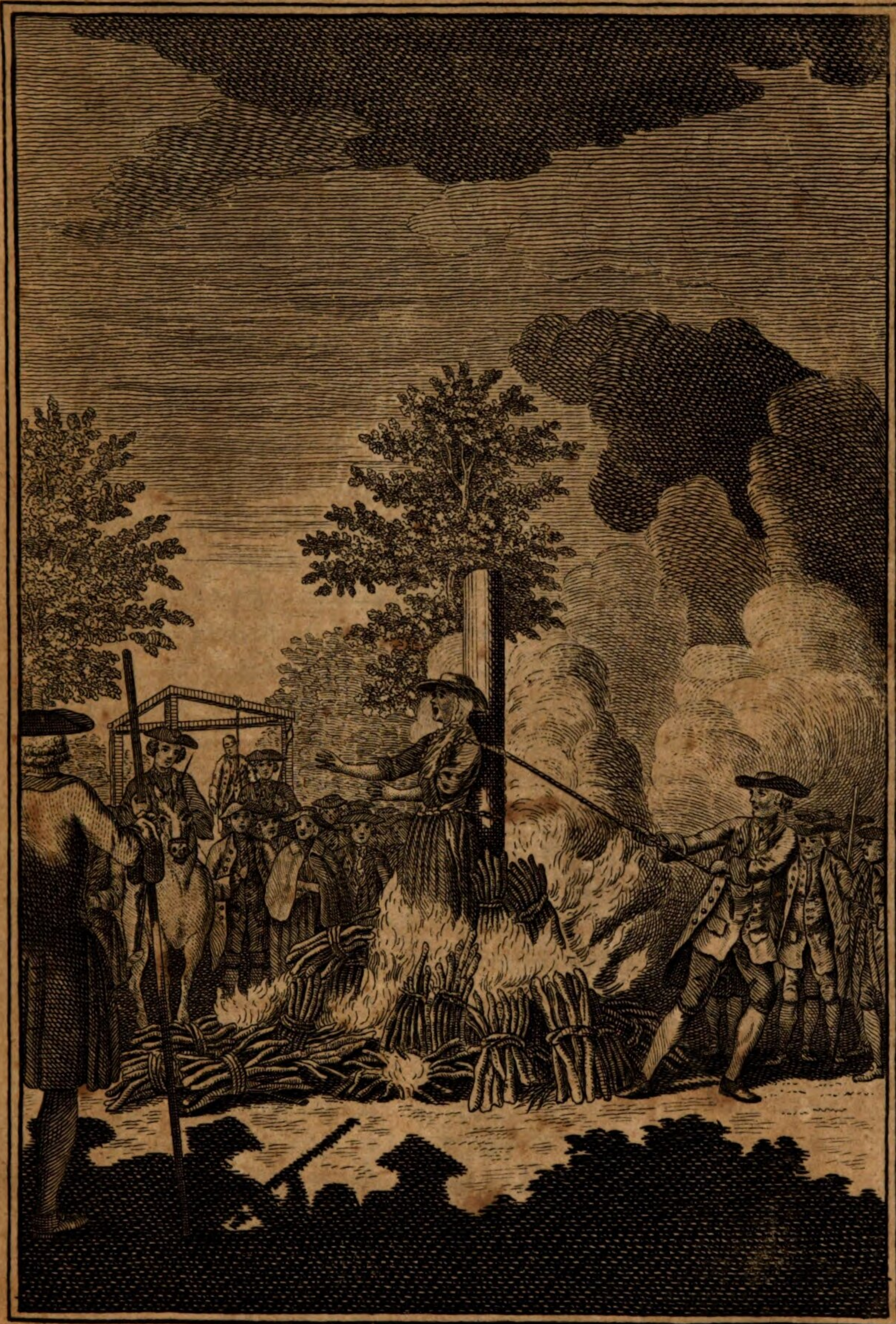
In the month of October following, he was tried for this fact at the Old-Bailey, and the indictment being laid for privately stealing to the value of 2s. 6d. and he being a notorious offender, the jury found him guilty, and he received sentence of death; but he was afterwards reprieved in order to be transported.

A full and particular Account of the Life, Trial and Behaviour of CATHERINE HAYES, who was burnt alive at Tyburn, for the Murder of her Husband; and also an Account of THOMAS BILLINGS and THOMAS WOOD, who were concerned in the said Murder.

CATHERINE Hayes was born of parents of the name of Hall, in very low circumstances, in the year 1690, on the borders of Warwickshire, about four miles from Birmingham.

She

Engraved for the Tyburn Chronicle.



Wale delin.

Proud Sc.

*Catherine Hayes burnt at Tyburn for the
murder of her husband on the First of March 1725-6*

She lived with her parents several years; but their poverty did not permit them to bestow any education on her; on the contrary, they were obliged to apply to the parish for relief, at the charge of which she was maintained for several years.

Even during her childhood she gave evident signs of a fiery, turbulent temper, and untractable spirit, which her want of education rather increased than otherwise, so that she at length became ungovernable.

In this manner she lived till about the year 1705, when several officers going into that country to beat up for volunteers, the men were quartered in and about the neighbourhood.

Whether the appearance or the behaviour of the military gentlemen induced our heroine to accompany them, we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is that she rambled about with them to several places; and when they left Birmingham and its neighbourhood, she accompanied them to a village in Worcestershire, called Great Ombersly, where, either tired with her company, or not chusing the expence of maintaining her any longer, they took an opportunity of leaving her behind.

Being thus left alone, and not knowing what course to take, she wandered about like a distracted creature, till coming to the door of one Mr. Hayes, his wife good-naturedly took her in, and entertained her for a few days.

At that time Mr. Hayes had several children, the eldest of which, whose name was John, about twenty one years of age, found something so agreeable in the person and conversation of Catherine, that he privately made overtures of marriage to her. His proposals were readily accepted; but the young people believing that neither Mr. Hayes nor his wife would consent to the match, agreed to keep their intentions a profound secret.

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The preliminaries were soon settled, and in five or six days the preparations for a private marriage being made, they agreed it should be solemnized at Worcester, and, on the appointed day, they left the old people very early in the morning, in the following manner.

Young Hayes, who was a Carpenter by trade, acquainting his mother that he had occasion for some tools in his business, which he would go and purchase at Worcester, obtained by that means some money of her, which, together with some he had by him, were sufficient to defray the expences of the intended expedition.

Being thus furnished, he took leave of his parents early in the morning; and Catherine, without the formality of bidding them adieu, trudged after him to Worcester, where they met at an appointed place, and the wedding was soon celebrated.

On the very day of her marriage Mrs. Catherine Hayes had the fortune to meet with some of her former acquaintance, who had lately dropped her at Omberfly, and were now quartered at Worcester.

These fellows understanding she was that day married, and where the nuptials were to be solemnized, consulted among themselves how to make a penny of the bridegroom, and accordingly deferring the execution of their intentions till the evening, just as Mr. Hayes was got into bed to his new bride, they came to the house where he lodged, forcibly entered the room, and dragged the bridegroom away, pretending to impress him for her Majesty's service.

This affair broke the measures Mr. John Hayes had concerted with his bride, to keep their wedding a secret; for finding no redemption from their hands without the expence of a larger sum of money than he was master of, he was necessitated to let his father know of his misfortune.

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The old gentleman hearing of his son's adventures, as well of his marriage, as his being pressed at the same time, his resentment for the one did not extinguish his paternal affection for him, but that he resolved to deliver him from his troubles, and accordingly taking a gentleman in the neighbourhood along with him, he went to Worcester.

On their arrival there they found Mr. John Hayes in the hands of the officers, who insisted upon the detaining him for her Majesty's service, but his father, and the gentleman he brought with him, by his authority, soon made them sensible of their error, and instead of making a benefit of him, as they proposed, they were glad to discharge him, which they did immediately.

Mr. Hayes having acted thus far in favour of his son, then expressed his resentment for his having married without his consent, but it being too late to prevent it, there was no other remedy but to bear it with patience.

For some time afterwards Mr. Hayes and his bride lived in the neighbourhood, he following his business as a Carpenter, and his father and mother grew more reconciled to him.

But Mrs. Hayes, who approved rather of a travelling than a settled life, persuaded her husband to enter himself a volunteer in a company of soldiers, who were then at Worcester; which he at length complied with, and went abroad with them, where he continued for some time.

Mr. John Hayes being in garrison in the Isle of Wight, Mrs. Hayes went over to him, and continued with him for some time, till Hayes, tired with so idle a life, solicited his father to procure his discharge, which at length, after much trouble, and an expence of 60*l.* was accomplished.

The young couple now returned into Worcester-shire, where his father put him into an estate of

10 l. per annum, hoping that, with the benefit of his trade, would enable them to live in credit, and alter his daughter-in-law's inclinations for roving; for he was sensible that his son's ramble had been occasioned by the persuasions of his wife.

Young Hayes now representing to his father that it was not possible for him and his wife to live on that estate only, persuaded the old man to let him have another, a leasehold of 16 l. per annum; on which he lived during the continuance of the lease, and the old man paid the rent.

The characters of John Hayes and his wife were widely different: he was a sober, honest, peaceable man, and a good husband; and the only things objected to him are, that he was rather too parsimonious in his disposition, and too indulgent to his wife, who repaid his kindness with opprobrious language, and sometimes with ill usage.

As to his wife, she was on all hands allowed to be a very turbulent, vexatious woman, always setting people together by the ears, and never free from quarrels and controversies in the neighbourhood, giving ill advice, and fomenting disputes, to the disturbance of all her friends and acquaintance.

This unhappiness in her temper induced Mr. John Hayes's relations to persuade him to settle in some remote place, at a distance from and unknown to her, for some time, to see if that would have any effect upon her turbulent disposition; but Mr. Hayes could not approve of that advice, nor consent to a separation.

In this manner they lived for the space of about six years, until the lease of the last mentioned farm expired, about which time Mrs. Hayes persuaded her husband to leave the country and come up to London, which about twelve months afterwards, through her persuasions, he did, in the year 1719.

Upon

Upon their arrival in town they took a house, part of which they let out in lodgings, and sold sea-coal, chandlery ware, &c. whereby they lived in a creditable manner; and though Mr. Hayes was of a very indulgent temper, yet she was so unhappy as to be frequently jarring, and a change of climate had not made any alteration in her temper: she continued her same passionate disposition, and had frequently bickerings and disputes with her neighbours, as well in town as in the country.

In this business they picked up money, and Mr. Hayes received the yearly rent of the first mentioned estate, though he lived in town; and by lending out money in small sums amongst his country people and acquaintance, improved his circumstances considerably.

She would frequently, in speaking of Mr. Hayes to his friends and acquaintance given him the best of characters, and commend him for an indulgent husband; notwithstanding which, to some of her particular cronies who knew not Mr. Hayes's temper, she would exclaim against him, and told one of them particularly, above a year before, the murder was committed, "that it was no more sin to kill him (meaning her husband) than to kill a mad dog; and that some time or other she might give him a polt."

After this they removed into Tottenham-Court-road, where they carried on business for about two years, and then removed into Tyburn-road, a few doors from the house where the murder was committed.

They lived in this place about a year, during which Mr. Hayes practised the lending money on pledges, and sometimes worked at his profession, till he was thought to have accumulated a considerable sum of money.

They now removed a little lower in the same road, and took lodgings up two pair of stairs, at the house

of Mr. Whinyard, where the horrid murder was afterwards perpetrated.

At the last mentioned place, Thomas Billings, who was a taylor by trade, and worked in and about Monmouth-street, being Mrs. Hayes's countryman, came to see them, and they invited him to lodge with them, which he agreed to do.

On Hayes's going out of town for some days, several of his wife's acquaintance took the opportunity of his absence to come and see her, and continued there revelling till just before his expected return.

When Hayes came to town, being informed of what had passed, he remonstrated with his wife on the liberties she had given herself: how far her answer might provoke his resentment we cannot determine, but a quarrel ensued, and a blow or two passed between them: this was about six weeks before the commission of the murder.

Whether this quarrel might augment Mrs. Hayes's inclination to get rid of her husband, or whether she had before absolutely resolved on it, we cannot pretend to say; however it is certain that she soon after proposed to Billings to join with her in murdering her husband, and endeavoured to persuade him thereto by all the arguments she possibly could; she urged, that she daily received abuses and injuries from him, that he was a person of a debauched conversation, and atheistical principles; and "that it was no more sin to murder him than it was to kill a dog, a cat, or any brute beast."

Whilst these proposals were on foot, Thomas Wood (a countryman, a neighbour's son, and a former acquaintance of Mr. Hayes and his wife) coming to town, was obliged to forsake his lodgings for fear of being pressed, and not knowing how to secure himself, went to see Mr. Hayes, who entertained him very civilly, and he acquainted him with the fears he

he lay under of being pressed, and carried away to sea on the one hand, and on the other, his being destitute of any business or employment.

Mr. Hayes kindly invited him to accept of such conveniency as their lodgings would afford, and promised to use his endeavours to procure him business amongst his friends and acquaintance.

Wood thereupon accepted of the offer, and came and lodged with Billings at Mr. Hayes's. He had not been there above three or four days before Mrs. Hayes ingratiating herself with him, communicated the design she had formed of murdering her husband.

Wood started at such a proposition, and urged the sinfulness thereof, as well as the ungenerousness of such an action, if he should be any ways instrumental in shortening the life of Mr. Hayes, whom he esteemed as his friend, his neighbour, and particular acquaintance.

Whereupon Mrs. Hayes replied, "It would be no crime to remove such an atheistical person as he was, for that he was void of any religion or goodness, that he was a murderer, and had killed a man in the country, and destroyed two of her children, of which she had had twelve, one of which was buried under a pear tree, and another under an apple tree in the country."

By these stories, though totally void of foundation, she endeavoured to spirit up Wood to a compliance with her wicked intentions; and added farther, that she should then be mistress of about 1500 l. which he should be master of, if he would assist in the commission of this fact; that she and Billings had consulted on the matter, and only wanted a third person to join in it.

Wood going out of town two or three days after this, returned again on the first of March, when he found Mr. and Mrs. Hayes and Billings in compa-

ny, and being conversing merrily together, Mr. Hayes said that himself and another person had drank to the amount of a guinea in wine without being fuddled; upon which Billings offered to fetch six bottles of mountain, on condition that if Hayes drank it all without being intoxicated, then Billings should pay for it, but if it should happen otherwise the expence should be Hayes's.

This proposal being agreed to, Mrs. Hayes, Billings and Wood, went all together to the Braund's Head in New-Bond-street, to fetch the wine. As they were going along, Mrs. Hayes reminded them of the proposal she had before made of murdering her husband, urging that there could not be a better opportunity than when he was intoxicated.

Wood objected to this, and said it would be the most barbarous and inhuman thing imaginable to murder an innocent person, not only in cool blood, but when they had designedly intoxicated him.

In answer to this, Catherine repeated the arguments she had before used to Billings and himself, to prepare them for the wicked deed; and Billings joining in her persuasions. Wood was at length so influenced, that with some little reluctance, he seemed willing to comply with their request.

When they came to the tavern they called for half a pint of mountain for a taste, which being brought, they agreed with the vintner for seven shillings per gallon, and ordered a gallon and a half of it to be carried to their lodgings, which was accordingly done, and for which Mrs. Hayes paid half a guinea.

As soon as they came home they sat down to drinking, or rather to see Mr. Hayes drink, under pretence of the wager betwixt Billings and him, who was to drink all the wine, whilst they three had several pots of beer, &c.

Having

Having encouraged Mr. Hayes in drinking the wine, and he growing very merry therewith, he sung and danced about the room; but his wife fearing the quantity he had drank would not have the wished for effect upon him, she sent away for another bottle, of which he drank also, which effectually answered their expectations, and Mr. Hayes became thereby intoxicated and deprived of his understanding.

He however made shift to get into the other room, and throwing himself across the bed, fell asleep; upon which Mrs. Hayes reminded them of the affair in hand, and told them that was the most proper juncture to finish the business.

Hereupon Billings went into the other room, where Mr. Hayes lay sleeping, and going to the bedside with a coal-hatchet in his hand, struck Mr. Hayes on the back of the head, whereby he broke his skull: the violence of the blow, and the agony of the pain, occasioned Mr. Hayes to stamp upon the ground five or six times with his feet, which hung over the bedside; whereupon Thomas Wood came into the room, and struck him twice more on the side of the head with the same instrument, though the first blow had done his business effectually.

Upon the noise Mr. Hayes made with his feet, as abovementioned, Mrs. Springate, who lodged up in the garret over Mr. Hayes's room, came down to enquire the occasion thereof, complaining the disturbance was so great, that they, meaning herself, her husband, and a child they had, could not sleep for it. To which Mrs. Hayes answered, they had some company there, who having been drinking, were grown merry, but as they would be going immediately, desired her not to be uneasy.

This

This satisfied Mrs. Springate for the present, and she returned back and went to bed again, not expecting to hear any thing farther.

When the murderers perceived that Hayes was quite dead, they debated on what manner they should dispose of the body; and several expedients were proposed to remove it, in order to prevent a discovery; but that which appeared most feasible was of Catherine's own contrivance.

She said that if the body was carried away whole, it might be known, and a discovery would be thereby made; and therefore proposed that the head should be cut off, and then the body being removed, could not be known.

This being resolved on, they got a pail, and the murderers carrying a candle, they all three went into the room where the deceased lay, when Catherine held the pail, Billings supported the head, and Wood cut it off with his pocket knife, having first dragged the body over the side of the bed, that the blood might run into the pail without staining the bed-cloaths, &c.

The head being thus cut off, and the body having done bleeding, they poured the blood into a wooden sink out at the window, and threw several pails of water after it to wash it away; notwithstanding which precaution, several lumps of congealed blood were found in the morning by Springate the lodger, who suspecting nothing of the truth, threw them away.

Notwithstanding the precaution of catching the blood in the pail as abovementioned, there was some spilled upon the ground and sprinkled about the room in several places: what was most visible they endeavoured to get out by washing, &c. Mrs. Hayes herself drying up the blood which fell on the floor with cloths, to conceal the same, and some they scraped off with knives.

However

Engraved for the Tyburn Chronicle.



Record Sculp

*Catherine Hayes, assisting Wood, & Billings, in cutting
off the Head of her Husband John Hayes.*

However divers sprinklings of it remained on the floor, and about the walls, some of it even spun up to the very ceiling, and the sprinklings remained visible long after the discovery of the murder.

Mrs. Hayes proposed, in order to prevent a discovery, that she would take the head and boil it in a pot till only the skull remained, whereby it would be altogether impossible for any body to distinguish to whom it belonged.

This proposal might have been approved of, only it was not altogether so expeditious: it was therefore proposed, that Billings and Wood should take the same in the pail, and carry it down to the Thames, and throw it in there. This was approved of, and Billings taking the head in the pail under his great coat, went down stairs with Wood to dispose thereof, as had been before agreed upon.

Springate hearing a bustling in Mr. Hayes's room for some time, and then somebody going down stairs, called again to know who it was, and what was the occasion of it, (it being then about 11 o'clock) to which Mrs. Hayes answered, it was her husband who was going a journey into the country, and pretended to take a formal leave of him, expressing her sorrow that he was obliged to go out of town at that time of the night, and her fear lest any accident should attend him in his journey.

Billings and Wood being thus gone to dispose of the head, went towards Whitehall, intending to have thrown the same into the river there; but the gates being shut, they were obliged to go onwards as far as Mr. Macreth's Wharf near the Horse-Ferry at Westminster, where Billings setting down the pail from under his great coat, Wood took up the same with the head therein, and threw it into the dock before the wharf. It was expected the same would have been carried away with the

the tide, but the water being then ebbing, it was left behind.

There were some lighters lying over against the dock, and one of the lightermen being then walking on board, saw them throw the pail into the dock; but it being too dark to discern them clearly, and having no suspicion, he then thought no more of the affair.

They now returned back, and arriving about twelve o'clock, Mrs. Hayes let them in, and they found she had been busily employed in washing the floor, and scraping the blood off the walls, &c. They now all went into the fore-room, where Wood and Billings went to bed, and Mrs. Hayes sat by them the remainder of the night.

In the morning of the 2d of March, soon after break of day, one Robinson, a watchman, saw a man's head lying in the dock, and the pail near it: he called some persons to assist in taking up the head, and finding the pail bloody, they conjectured that the head had been brought thither in it. Their suspicions were fully confirmed by the lighterman, who saw the head thrown in as abovementioned.

It was now time for the murderers to consider how they should dispose of the body, which Mrs. Hayes and Wood proposed to put into a box, where it might remain concealed till they had a convenient opportunity to remove it.

This being determined on, she brought a box; but on endeavouring to put it in, they found the box was not big enough to hold it. They had before wrapped it in a blanket, out of which they now took it, and Mrs. Hayes proposed to cut off the arms and legs; and this being done, they again attempted to put it in, but still the box would not hold it; they then cut off the thighs, and laying the limbs in the box, concealed the same till night.

The



Wale delin.

Record sculp.

The head of John Hayes exposed on a pole
in St. Margaret's Church Yard Westminster.

The finding of Hayes's head had, in the mean time, alarmed the town, and information was given to the neighbouring justices of the peace. The parish officers did all that was possible towards the discovery of the persons guilty of perpetrating so horrid a murder; they caused the head to be cleaned, the face to be washed from the dirt and blood, and the hair to be combed, and then the head to be set upon a post in public view, in St. Margaret's Church-yard, Westminster, that every body might have free access to see the same, with some of the parish officers to attend, hoping by that means a discovery might be made.

The High Constable of Westminster liberty also issued private orders to all the petty constables, watchmen, and other officers of that district, to keep a strict eye on all coaches, carts, &c. passing in the night through their liberty, imagining that the perpetrators of such a horrid fact, would endeavour to free themselves of the body in the same manner they had done of the head.

These orders were executed for some time with all the secrecy imaginable, under various pretences, but without success. The head also continued to be exposed for some days in the manner before described, which drew a prodigious number of people to see the same, but without any discovery of the murderers.

On the 2d of March in the evening, Catherine Hayes, Thomas Wood, and Thomas Billings, took the body and disjointed members out of the box, and wrapped them up in two blankets, viz. the body in one, and the limbs in the other: Billings and Wood first took up the body, and about nine o'clock in the evening, carried it by turns into Marybone-Fields, and threw the same into a pond, which Wood in the day time had been hunting for, and returning back again about eleven the same night,

took up the limbs in the other old blanket, and carried them by turns to the same place, throwing them in there also.

About twelve o'clock the same night they returned back again, and knocking at the door, were let in by Mary Springate; they went up to bed in Mrs. Hayes's fore-room, and she staid with them all night, sometimes sitting up, and sometimes laying down upon the bed by them.

On this same second of March, one Bennet, an apprentice to the King's Organ-maker, going to Westminster to see the head, believed it to be that of Mr. Hayes, with whom he had been intimately acquainted; whereupon he went and informed Mrs. Hayes that the head exposed to view in St. Margaret's Church-yard was so very like her husband's, that he believed it to be his; upon which she assured him that Mr. Hayes was very well, and reproved him for forming such an opinion, telling him he must be very cautious how he raised any such false and scandalous reports, which might bring him into a great deal of trouble. The young fellow was silenced by this reprimand, and said no more about it.

The same day also one Mr. Patrick having been to see the head, went afterwards to the house of Mr. Grainger at the Dog and Dial in Monmouth-street, with whom Hayes and his wife had been intimately acquainted. Grainger's journeymen and other servants being Worcestershire people, Patrick told them he had been to see the head, and that he thought it the most like their countryman Hayes of any face he had ever seen.

Billings being then at work, some of the servants replied, that it could not be his, because he being one of Mr. Hayes's lodgers, they should have heard of it by him if Hayes had been missing, or any accident had happened to him; to which Billings answered,

swered, that he was then alive and well, and that he left him in bed when he came to work in the morning.

On the next day (March 3d.) Catherine Hayes gave Wood a white coat, and a pair of leather breeches of her husband's, which he carried to Greenford, near Harrow on the Hill. Mrs. Sprin- gate seeing Wood carry away these things, tied up in a white cloth, told Mrs. Hayes that Wood was gone down stairs with a bundle; and Hayes answered that it was only a suit of cloaths Wood had borrowed of a neighbour, which he was going to carry home again.

On the 4th day of March Mrs. Longmore going to visit Mrs. Hayes, enquiring after her husband, she told her he was gone out to take a walk, and asking Mrs. Longmore what news, she told her all the talk was about the man's head that had been found at Westminster: she seemed to wonder very much at the wickedness of the age, that could commit such barbarous murders, telling her also, there was a report in the neighbourhood of a woman who was just found in the fields, all mangled and cut to pieces; to which Mrs. Longmore answered, she had not heard any thing of such an accident.

On the 5th of March, Thomas Wood returned to town again to Mrs. Hayes's for some linnen, at which time she gave him a pair of shoes, a pair of stockings, a hat, and a waistcoat, which he knew to have been her husband's, and 5 s. in money, and told him she would supply him with money when ever he wanted. She then told him her husband's head had been found, and how it continued to be exposed to view at Westminster, but that no person had owned it.

'Till the 6th of March the head continued to be exposed daily, but no discovery of the murder being made, the officers of the parish consulted with

Mr. Westbrook a surgeon, to have the same preserved in spirits, whereby it might be kept more intire, and the features much better preserved than otherwise, till a discovery could be made of the murderers.

This being resolved upon, Mr. Westbrook took charge of the same, and having provided a proper glass and spirits to contain it, the same was put therein, and exposed to the view of such persons as were desirous of seeing it. Notwithstanding all their endeavours to detect the authors of such a piece of barbarity, no discovery could be made, or any light obtained whereby the murderers could be detected.

In the mean time, Mrs. Hayes quitted the house where the murder was committed, and removed to Mr. Jones's, a distiller in the neighbourhood, taking with her Wood, Billings, and Mrs. Springate, for whom she paid three months rent at her old lodging.

She now employed herself in collecting as much of her husbands property as she possibly could; and finding among other papers a bond due to Mr. Hayes from one John Davis, who had married his sister, she prevailed on a person to write a letter in her husband's name, which she sent to his mother on the 14th of March, to demand 10l. of the abovementioned Davis, and threatening to sue him in case of non-payment.

Old Mrs. Hayes received this letter, and acquainting her son-in-law Davis with the contents of it, he offered to pay the money on the bond being sent into the country; of which the Old gentlewoman acquainted Mrs. Hayes by a letter on the 22d of the same month.

During these transactions, numbers of people went daily to see the head of the murdered person, and among others a poor woman from Kingland, whose husband,

husband had been absent from the day before the head was found: she fancied it bore a resemblance to that of her husband, but was not so positive as to swear to it; her belief however occasioned a report that it was so, and search was daily made after the body, but to no purpose.

In the mean time Mrs. Hayes gave it out in the neighbourhood that her husband had absconded upon account of an unfortunate rencounter he had had with another person, wherein he had given his antagonist an unlucky blow which had occasioned his death; that they had hushed up the matter for some time, by a promise of a considerable sum of money he was to pay the widow annually; but not being able to comply with the same, he was forced to withdraw. This story she endeavoured to propagate with all the industry she possibly could, though, as she pretended, under the greatest secrecy.

Some few days before the discovery of this piece of barbarity, Mr. Joseph Ashby, who was an intimate acquaintance of the deceased, calling to see him, she informed him with a pretended secrecy, of the fictitious story above-mentioned. He asked if the person her husband had murdered was the same to whom the head belonged; she said, no, that he was buried entire, and that her husband had given a note or bond, to pay her 15 l. per Ann. in order to compromise the matter, and avoid a prosecution: he then asked her where her husband was gone; she replied, he was gone over to Portugal with two or three foreign gentlemen. Not being very well satisfied with this story, he went from thence to one Henry Longmore's, (who was cousin to the deceased) and told him the misfortune she had related to him, adding, he did not approve of the account he had received from her, and desired Mr. Longmore to go to her, without taking any notice of his having seen him; and then, by comparing the
the

the account she had related to him, with that which she should give to Mr. Longmore, they might be able to make some probable conjecture of the truth of the case.

Accordingly Mr. Longmore went to her, and enquiring for her husband, she replied, she supposed he had heard of his misfortune from Mr. Ashby; he answered he had not seen him for some considerable time past, and was a stranger to his cousin's misfortunes, not knowing or believing that he was indebted to any person.

Mr. Longmore asked if Mr. Hayes was in prison for debt; she replied no, worse than that; and Mr. Longmore asking what could occasion his absconding, and saying, "I suppose he has not murdered any body," she answered that he had, and calling him aside, related the story abovementioned.

Mr. Longmore enquired which way Mr. Hayes was gone; she said into Hertfordshire, and that he had taken four pistols with him for his defence, viz. one under each arm, and two in his pockets. Longmore said it would be dangerous for him to travel in that manner, for he was liable to be apprehended on suspicion of being a highwayman; to which she answered, that it was his usual way of travelling, and the reason of it was because he was once attacked, and had like to have been robbed upon the highway, and that he had once been apprehended on suspicion of being a highwayman, but that a gentleman who knew him, coming in accidentally, passed his word for his appearance, in consequence of which he was discharged.

Mr. Longmore told her that it was very improbable that he should ever have been stopped upon suspicion of being a highwayman, and discharged only on a person's passing his word for his appearance; and asked her how he was supplied with money for his journey—to which she answered, that he
had

had sewed twenty six guineas into his cloaths, and had about seventeen shillings in silver in his pockets; and told him that Mrs. Springate who lodged in the house was privy to the whole transaction, for which reason she had paid her rent at her old lodging, the better to engage her secrecy.

She now called Springate to testify the truth of what she said; and seemed to reflect upon her husband's unkind usage of her, which surprized Mr. Longmore more than all she had said to him before, and strengthened his suspicion, because she had always before given him the best of characters, for a most indulgent and tender husband.

He then took his leave of her, and returning back to his friend Ashby, upon their comparing their several accounts together, there appeared very great reason to judge of some unfair practices towards Mr. Hayes; they therefore resolved to go together to Mr. Eaton a Life-guard man, who was also an acquaintance of his, and accordingly went to enquire for him, intending he should have gone to her likewise, to have heard what account she would give him.

They went to several places to see for him, but missing of him, they went down to Westminster to see the head at Mr. Westbrook's; when they arrived there, he informed them that the head had been owned by a woman from Kingland, who believed it to be her husband's, but was not positive enough to swear to it, though the circumstances were strong, he having been missing from the day before the head was found: but they desiring to see it, Mr. Ashby went up stairs first to look upon it, and coming down again, informed Mr. Longmore he really believed it to be Hayes's head; upon which Mr. Longmore then went up to see the same, and examining it more exactly than Mr. Ashby had done, was entirely of the same opinion.

They

They then went back to see for Mr. Eaton, and meeting with him at home, told him their suspicion, and the reasons thereof, and desired him to go along with them to make farther enquiry into the affair. Eaton invited them to stay to dinner with him, which at first they consented to, but afterwards changing their minds, they all went down to Longmore's house, where they repeated their suspicions, not only of Mr. Hayes's having been murdered (which they were on sight of the head fully satisfied of) but also that his wife was privy to the same; and in order to obtain a more satisfactory account, they were consulting that Mr. Eaton should in a day or two go and enquire for her, without taking any notice that he had seen Longmore or Ashby; but in the interim Longmore's brother interposed, saying, that it was apparent their cousin had been murdered, and that there was great reason to suspect that Mrs. Hayes, together with Wood and Billings, (who, she had said, drank with him the night before his pretended journey,) were either principal actors in, or at least privy to the murder; and that therefore it was his opinion that no delay ought to be admitted, for in two or three days they might be gone from their lodgings, as they certainly would if they entertained any suspicion of a discovery being made.

Hereupon Mr. Longmore and the others went immediately to Justice Lambert, acquainted him with their suspicions, and desired his warrant to apprehend the supposed murderers.

The justice having examined the parties, concurred with them in their suspicions, and issued out a warrant for apprehending Catherine Hayes, Thomas Wood, Thomas Billings, and Mary Springate; and likewise sent for proper officers to execute the same, resolving to attend them to see it done.

About nine o'clock at night the parties met, together with two officers of the guards, whom Eaton had in the mean time acquainted with the affair.

They went all together to Hayes's lodgings, and, Longmore leading the company, they were going directly up stairs, when Mr. Jones, (the master of the house) demanded what they wanted: they soon satisfied him that they had sufficient authority, and immediately went up stairs.

When they came to Mrs. Hayes's door, Justice Lambert rapped with his cane, and she asking who was there, told them she was in bed; but being bid to open her door, or they would break it open, she desired time to put on her cloaths: when she came and opened the door, they entered, and seized her, and seeing Billings sit upon her bed side without shoes and stockings, she was asked, if he had been in bed with her? she replied No, but that he had been mending his stockings; to which Justice Lambert answered, "He had good eyes that could see to mend his cloaths in the dark," there being neither fire nor candle burning in the room before the door was opened.

They seized Billings and her, and leaving a sufficient guard to attend them whilst they dressed themselves, Longmore, Justice Lambert, and several others, went up stairs to Springate, where they seized her also, and brought them away.

Justice Lambert examined them very strictly with respect to the murder, but they would not acknowledge any thing of it: whereupon they were severally committed, viz. Billings to New-Prison, Springate to the Gate-house, and Hayes to Tothill-Fields Bridewell, for farther examination. She desired of Mr. Longmore that she might be admitted to see the head, of which request he acquainted the Justice, who directed she should have a sight of it as she came

from Tothill-Fields Bridewell, to her farther examination.

Accordingly Longmore going with the officers the next day to fetch her from thence to Justice Lambert's, the coach stopped at Mr. Westbrook's door, and she being admitted into the house, as soon as she entered the room threw herself down upon her knees, crying out, " Oh it is my dear husband's head: it is my dear husband's head!" and embracing the glass in her arms, kissed the outside of it several times: in the mean time Mr. Westbrook himself came in, and told her, if it was his head she should have a plainer view of it, he would take it out of the glass that she might have a full sight thereof; and accordingly taking the head by the hair, lifted it out of the glass, and brought it to her, when she caught hold of it and kissed it, pretending to be in a very great agony, and begged to have a lock of his hair; but Mr. Westbrook told her he feared she had already had too much of his blood. She fainted away, and on her recovery, was carried to Mr. Lambert's, to be examined by him, and other justices of the peace.

During these transactions, one Mr. Huddle and his servant being walking in the fields near Marybone, saw something lying in a ditch, which, on examination, they found to be the legs, thighs, and arms of a man: surprized at this, they the next morning procured assistance, and drained the pond, when they pulled out the body of a man wrapped up in a blanket.

One Crosby, a constable, brought the news of this circumstance, at the very time that the justices were examining Catherine Hayes, not doubting but these were the body and limbs of her deceased husband.

Notwithstanding this additional circumstance, she steadily refused to make any confession; but the justices

justices thought proper to commit her to Newgate, whither she was carried in the afternoon, the mob hallowing and shouting all the way, to express their joy at her being apprehended.

On the Sunday following in the morning, Thomas Wood returned to town from Greenford, not having heard of the apprehension of Hayes, Billings or Sprin-gate; and going to the former lodgings to enquire for Mrs. Hayes, he was told that she was removed to Mr. Jones's the distiller: thither he went, and enquiring for her there, was known to be the other person suspected of being concerned in the murder of Mr. Hayes; on which the people would not inform him that she and the others were apprehended on suspicion of the murder, but told him she was gone down to the Green-Dragon in King-street, (that being the house where Mr. Longmore lived;) and a man who was present told him he was going to her, if he wanted to see her, he would show him the way.

Accordingly Wood, being on horseback, followed the person, who led him directly to Longmore's house; at which time Longmore's brother coming to the door, and seeing Wood, immediately laid hold of him, and unhorfing him, dragged him into the house, sent for the officers, and charged them with him on suspicion of the murder, from whence he was carried before Justice Lambert, who asked him divers questions in relation to the murder, but he would acknowledge nothing, whereupon he was committed to Tothill-Fields-Bridewell.

Being there, he heard the various reports of persons concerning the murder, and judging from those that it was impossible to prevent a full discovery, or evade the proofs that were against him, he resolved upon making an ample confession of the whole affair, of which Justice Lambert being acquainted, he,

with John Mohun and Thomas Salt, Esqs. two other justices of the peace, went to Tothill-Fields-Bridewell to take his examination, which is as follows.

The Examination and Confession of Thomas Wood, taken before John Mohun, Oliver Lambert, and Thomas Salt, Esqs. three of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, this 27th day of March, 1726.

WHO confesseth and saith, that on Tuesday, being the first of March instant, he had been drinking in several places, and that the last place was the Hog in the Pound, and came about 12 o'clock at noon to Mr. Hayes's lodgings, and when he came home was merry, as Mr. Hayes told him, and Mr. Hayes told him he could drink a great deal of liquor and not be fuddled, and said, "I and another drank half a guinea a-piece in wine without being fuddled:" That Tho. Billings then in company said, that if Mr. Hayes would then drink half a guinea's worth of wine and not be fuddled, he would pay for it; that Hayes agreed, they each put down half a guinea, and that Catherine Hayes, Tho. Billings, and this Examinant, went out about four o'clock in the afternoon, on the day aforesaid, to Bond-street, and brought in with them to Mr. Hayes's lodgings about six or seven bottles of mountain wine, and upon their return found Mr. Hayes sitting by the fire-side in the fore room, eating bread and cheese: that then this Examinant went to the Angel and Crown to fetch a pot of twopenny, to drink while Mr. Hayes drank the wine; that he staid about half an hour, and when he returned about half the wine was drank, and Mr. Hayes began to be very merry, and danced about the room, and said he thought he should not have wine enough to make him fuddled; on which Tho. Billings went out by himself and fetched another

another bottle of wine, and when he had drank that, he began to reel about the room, and went and laid down on the bed in the back room: that Thomas Billings followed him into the said room, and there with a hatchet struck him on the back part of his head, which blow, he, this Examinant, heard given, and went into the room, and found Mr. Hayes dead; and that Mrs. Hayes immediately followed this Examinant and said, " We must take off his head and " make it away, or it will betray us;" and that then Catherine Hayes, Tho. Billings, and this Examinant, with the Examinant's pocket-knife, cut off Mr. Hayes's head, about eight o'clock at night, on the day aforesaid, and then put it into a pail without a bail; and Tho. Billings, and this Examinant, carried the pail with the head in it to the water side, and when they came there, Thomas Billings set down the pail, and this Examinant took it up, and threw it into the Thames, and so both returned to Mrs. Hayes's lodgings, and went to bed in the fore room, in which room Mrs. Hayes sat up all night.

And this Examinant farther confesseth and saith, That the next morning as soon as it was light, Catherine Hayes, Thomas Billings, and this Examinant, began to consult what they must do with the body: that Catherine Hayes proposed to put it in a box which she had by her, and put it in a coach and carry it away, and throw it into the Thames; that they all endeavoured, but the box was not large enough to hold it; upon which Catherine Hayes proposed to cut it in pieces, which she, Tho. Billings, and this Examinant did, and put it into the box, where it remained till night, and then all agreed to carry it out in parcels; and that about nine o'clock at night, Thomas Billings and this Examinant took the carcase in a blanket, and carried it by turns to a sort of a pond or a ditch in Marybone-Fields, and threw it in with the blanket, and then returned again to
Mrs.

Mrs. Hayes's lodgings, being eleven o'clock at night, and then took the limbs in a piece of a blanket, and by turns carried them to the same place, and threw them into the same pond, and returned again about twelve or one o'clock the same night, and knocked at the door, and were let in by Mary Springate: that they went to bed in the fore-room, and that Catherine Hayes was in the same room, and sometimes went and lay down on their bed.

And this Examinant farther confesseth and saith, That on Thursday being the 3d of March instant, he went to Greenford, near Harrow in Middlesex, and carried with him a white coat, and a pair of leather breeches, which were Mr. Hayes's, and are now at Mr. Bower's in Greenford aforesaid.

And this Examinant farther confesseth and saith, That on Saturday, being the 5th day of March instant, this Examinant returned to Mrs. Hayes's lodgings, for some linen of his own; that then Mrs. Hayes gave him a pair of shoes, a waistcoat, a hat, and a pair of stockings, which this Examinant knew to be her late husband's, and likewise gave him 2 s. in money; that she told him the head was found at Westminster, but was not known; that then he returned to Mr. Bower's aforesaid.

And this Examinant farther saith, That Catherine Hayes gave him 3s. 6d. and promised to supply him with money whenever he wanted: and farther saith, That she the said Catherine Hayes, had many times before, and often on the first of March instant, proposed to Thomas Billings and this Examinant, the murder of her husband: That Thomas Billings had agreed to murder him, and offered to give this ex-aminant money to buy wine to make Mr. Hayes drunk, that they might accomplish the murder.

And this Examinant farther saith, That Mary Springate was no ways privy, or any ways con-
fessing

senting or assisting to the aforesaid murder, or to the carrying away the body, or any thing relating to it.

*Capt. coram nobis
die 3 Anno su-
pradiet.*

O. Lambert.

Thomas Wood.

J. Mobun.

Tho. Salt.

He farther acknowledged, that ever since the commission of the fact he had had no peace, but a continual torment of mind; that that very day, before he came from Greenford, he was fully persuaded within himself that he should be seized for the murder when he came to town, and should never see Greenford more; notwithstanding which he could not refrain coming, though under an expected certainty of being taken, and dying for the fact.

Having thus made a full and ample confession, and signed the same, his mittimus was made by Justice Lambert, and he was committed to Newgate, whither he was carried under a guard of a serjeant and eight foldiers, with muskets and bayonets to keep off the mob, who were so exasperated against the actors of such a piece of barbarity, that without that caution it would have been very difficult to have carried him thither alive.

On the 28th of March, after Mrs. Hayes was committed to Newgate, being the day after Wood's apprehension, Joseph Mercer going to Newgate to see Mrs. Hayes, she told him as he was Thomas Billings's friend as well as her's, she desired he would go to him, and tell him, 'twas in vain for him longer to deny the murder of her husband, for they were equally guilty, and must both die for it.

Billings

Billings hearing this, and that Wood was apprehended, and had fully confessed the whole affair, thought it needless to persist longer in a denial, and therefore the next day, he made a full and plain discovery of the whole affair, which is as follows, viz.

The Examination and Confession of Thomas Billings, taken before Oliver Lambert, and Gideon Harvey, Esqs. two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, on Tuesday, March 29, 1726.

WHO saith, That Catherine Hayes, Thomas Wood, and this Examinant, about three weeks before the murder of Mr. John Hayes, had consulted to murder the said Hayes, but not in what manner to put it in execution: that on the first of this instant March, he being in Mr. Hayes's room with Catherine Hayes, and Thomas Wood, discoursing about drinking; Mr. Hayes told him he could drink a great deal of liquor and not be drunk, to the value of half a guinea: that this Examinant thereupon put down half a guinea to Mr. Hayes's half guinea: that Catherine Hayes, Thomas Wood, and this Examinant, went for about six bottles of mountain wine: that going for the wine, they three consulted to murder the said John Hayes, it being a proper time after he had drank the wine, being about four o'clock in the afternoon: that on their return they found Mr. John Hayes eating bread and cheese: that Mr. Hayes began to drink the wine: that Catherine Hayes, Thomas Wood, and this Examinant, did not drink above one glass each of the said wine: that Mr. Hayes began to be very merry, and danced about the room: that this Examinant fetched another bottle of wine, which they all drank among them: that the said John Hayes began to reel about the room, and went and laid down on the bed in the
back

back room: that this Examinant went into the room about a quarter of an hour after him, and there with a hatchet struck him on the back part of the head: That Thomas Wood took up the said hatchet, which this examinant had just laid down, and therewith gave Mr. Hayes a blow or two: that the said Catherine Hayes immediately followed into the said back room, where Thomas Wood cut off the head of the said John Hayes with his knife: that the said Catherine Hayes and this Examinant were close by the bed when the said head was cut off: that Catherine Hayes held the pail with the head in it, which this Examinant carried to Mill-Bank: that Thomas Wood took up the pail, and threw it into the Thames, with the head in it, and so returned to Mrs. Hayes's lodgings, and went to bed in the fore room, in which room Mrs. Hayes continued all night.

And this Examinant saith, That on Wednesday morning the second instant, this Examinant, and Thomas Wood, and Catherine Hayes, began to consult how to dispose of the body of the said John Hayes: that the said Hayes and Thomas Wood proposed to put it into a box which she had by her: that Thomas Wood cut it in pieces, and put 'em into the said box, which it remained in till night: that this Examinant went about noon to work: that Thomas Wood was to look out for a place to throw the body in, against this Examinant's return home at night; and that about nine o'clock at night Catherine Hayes gave Thomas Wood a blanket, to carry off the body of her deceased husband; and they all agreed to carry it off in two parcels: that about nine o'clock at night, Thomas Wood and this Examinant, carried away the body by turns, to a sort of ditch or pond in Marybone-Fields, and threw it in with the blanket, and then returned to Mrs. Hayes's lodgings, and then took up the limbs in a piece of a blanket

blanket, and by turns carried them to the said place; and threw them into the same pond; and at their return were let in by Mary Springate.

And this Examinant farther saith, that he remembered that Catherine Hayes shewed to one or two men, a bond which was owing to her husband, but he knows not the sum.

Capt. Die 3^o Anno

supradict.

Ol. Lambert,

Gideon Harvey.

Thomas Billings.

Wood and Billings, by their several confessions afore said, acquitting Springate of having any concern in the murder, she was soon discharged from her confinement; but this discovery making a great noise in the town, divers of Mrs. Hayes's acquaintance went to visit her in Newgate, and examining her as to the reasons and motives that induced her to commit the said fact, her acknowledgment in general was: "That Mr. Hayes had proved but an
" indifferent husband to her; that one night he came
" home drunk and struck her; that upon her com-
" plaining thereof to Billings and Wood, they, or
" one of them, said, such a fellow (meaning Hayes)
" ought not to live, and that they would murder
" him for a half-penny;" upon which she took that opportunity to propose the bloody deed, telling them they might kill him if they would.

She acknowledged that she knew of their design, and heard Billings give her husband the blow; that then she and Wood went into the room where they were; and that she held the candle whilst Wood cut her husband's throat.

When she heard that Billings had made an ample confession of the whole affair, and was told that the
crime

crime on her side was not murder only, but petit treason, the punishment whereof was to be burnt alive, she began to shew great concern, and sent word to Billings, that it was very hard he should, by acknowledging every circumstance of the affair, subject her to an indictment for petit treason.

Being told of a report that Billings was her son, she would not speak positively to that matter, but said, "He was her own flesh and blood, but how nearly he was related he himself knew not; but she feared before she died it would appear to the world."

When asked the same question at other times, she would answer in no other terms, but that she would never disown him whilst she lived, and seemed to shew a greater concern for him than for herself, by endeavouring to extenuate his guilt, saying, "He was not so guilty as was believed." She was daily sending from the Master's-side, where she lay, to the Condemned-Hold, in which he was confined, to enquire after his health.

Whilst she lay in custody she was taught to believe that the confession of Wood and Billings could no ways affect her life: this made her vainly imagine that there was no positive proof against her, and that circumstances only would not convict her: for this reason she resolved to put herself upon her trial, (contrary to her first intentions, for having been asked what she would do, she replied, she would hold up her hand at the bar and plead guilty, for the whole world could not save her;) and accordingly, being arraigned, she pleaded Not Guilty, and put herself upon her trial. Wood and Billings both pleaded Guilty to the same indictment at the same time, acknowledging their guilt, and desiring to make attonement for the same with the loss of their lives; only praying the court would be graciously pleased to favour them so much (in regard they had made

an ingenuous confession) as to dispense with their being hanged in chains.

Mrs. Hayes having thus put herself on her trial, the King's Council opened the indictment, setting forth the heinousness of the fact, the premeditated intentions, and inhuman method of acting it; that his Majesty for the more effectual prosecution of such vile offenders, and out of a tender regard to the peace and welfare of all his subjects, and that the actors and perpetrators of such unheard of barbarities might be brought to condign punishment, had given them directions to prosecute the prisoners.

Then Richard Bromage, Robert Wilkins, Leonard Myring, Joseph Mercer, John Blakeley, Mary Springate, and Richard Bows, were called into court, the substance of whose evidence against the prisoner was, that she being interrogated about the murder when in Newgate, said "The Devil put it into her head; " but however John Hayes was none of the best " of husbands, for she had been half starved ever " since she was married to him; that she did not " in the least repent of any thing she had done, but " only in drawing those two poor men into this mis- " fortune; that she was six weeks importuning them " to do it; that they denied it two or three times, " but at last agreed; her husband was made so drunk " that he fell out of his chair, then Billings and " Wood carried him into the back room, and laid " him upon the bed; that she was not in that room, " but in the fore room on the same floor, when he " was killed; but they told her that Billings struck " him twice on the head with a pole-axe, and that " then Wood cut his throat; that when he was " quite dead, she went in and held the candle whilst " Wood cut his head quite off, and afterwards they " chopt off his legs and arms; that they wanted to

“ to get him into an old chest, but he was too long
 “ and too big; they thought to have done it by cut-
 “ ting off his thighs and arms, and then the chest
 “ would not hold them all; the body and limbs were
 “ put into blankets at several times the next night,
 “ and thrown into a pond; that the Devil was in
 “ them all, and they were all got drunk; that it
 “ would signify nothing to make a long preamble, she
 “ could hold up her hand and say she was guilty,
 “ for nothing could save her, no body could forgive
 “ her; that the men who did the murder were taken,
 “ and had confessed it; that she was not with them
 “ when they did it; that she was sitting by the fire
 “ in the shop upon a stool; that she heard the blow
 “ given, and heard somebody stamp; that she did
 “ not cry out for fear they should kill her; that after
 “ the head was cut off it was put into a pail, and
 “ Wood carried it out, that Billings sat down by
 “ her and cried, and would lie all the rest of the
 “ night in the room with the dead body; that the
 “ first occasion of this design to murder him was,
 “ because he came home drunk one night and beat
 “ her, upon which Billings said, this fellow deserves
 “ to be killed, and Wood said, he’d be his butcher
 “ for one penny; that she told them they might do
 “ as they would, but did not think they would do
 “ it that night it was done; that she did not tell her
 “ husband of the design to murder him for fear he
 “ should beat her; that she sent to Billings to let him
 “ know it was in vain to deny the murder of her
 “ husband any longer, for they were both guilty, and
 “ must both die for it.”

There were many other circumstances equally
 strong, besides this acknowledgment from her own
 mouth, and about fourteen or fifteen other witnesses;
 but the proofs being so plain, there was no occa-
 sion to examine them: she acknowledged in court upon
 her trial, that she knew of the intention to murder
 him

him some days before the fact was committed, and that she was in the next room when it was done, but persisted in it that she was innocent, because she did not kill him with her own hands; and having nothing else to offer, she was found guilty.

At their receiving sentence, Wood and Billings begged the mercy of the court that they might not be hung in chains, acknowledging the justice of their sentence, and their willingness to atone for the blood they had shed, by laying down their lives for the same: Mrs. Hayes desired likewise she might not be burned, saying, she was willing and desirous to die, though innocent of the fact: and having nothing more to offer in their defence, sentence of death as usual was passed upon them, viz. Wood and Billings to be hanged, and Mrs. Hayes to be burned alive.

After sentence they were all remanded back to Newgate, Wood and Billings were confined in the Condemned-Hold with the other malefactors under sentence of death, and Mrs. Hayes in an apartment peculiar to the women in the like condition.

The great care and anxiety she shewed for Wood, and particularly for Billings, justly gave the world reason to suspect there were some uncommon motives that induced her to commit the fact: she was both before and after her trial sending messengers to, and enquiring after Billings, and out of such money as she either had with her, or was given to her whilst in prison by charitable persons, she would send and give the greatest share of it to them.

Wood being sensibly touched with remorse for the heinousness and barbarity of the fact, shewed all the marks of an unfeigned and sincere repentance; and what with the horror of the action, and the unwholsomeness of the place wherein he was confined, he contracted a violent fever, which preyed upon him in a very severe manner; he came to the chapel

at

at prayer time so long as he was able, till his distemper prevailing upon him, he was obliged to desist: a Reverend Clergyman visited him in his illness, who gave him such advice and consolation as the nature of his case would admit of; he confirmed the particulars of the confession he had before made, agreeable to what is herein mentioned, wishing only that he might live a few days longer, not for the sake of prolonging a miserable life, but that purely, by suffering the sentence of the law, he might in some measure atone for his past offences, and by the condign punishment here inflicted upon him, he might be a terrible warning to all young persons how they offended in like manner; but on Wednesday the 4th of May he died in the Condemned-Hold.

This Thomas Wood, who was about twenty-eight years of age, was born about three miles from Ombersly, between Ludlow and Worcester, of honest, though indifferent mean parents; he had not in his youth been brought up to any regular trade or business, but worked amongst the farmers, haymakers, &c. however he was very remarkable for being of a sober settled behaviour in all his actions, by which means he gained entirely the love of the neighbourhood, who could not be induced to entertain an ill opinion of him.

His father dying some years before he left the country, his mother, who then kept a little ale-house at the place before-mentioned, being left with several children, he was very dutiful and industrious in assisting her, and by his labour was very instrumental in the support of the family; sometimes doing husbandry, harvest, or labourer's work, according as the same offered: at other times being employed as a tapster, in drawing drink in several inns in the country, till some few months before the
murder

murder was committed, he had a desire to come to London, which he did, and behaved himself very regularly and diligently in such business as he could get; but not being settled in any certain place of work, he was fearful of being pressed, and recollecting his countryman Hayes, he went to see him, to whom relating his apprehensions, and want of business at the same time, Mr. Hayes invited him to come and lodge with Billings, and promised to enquire out for business for him: he had not been long there before Mrs. Hayes took the opportunity to propose to him the designed intention she had of murdering her husband, which at first he refused with abhorrence, but at last was over-persuaded by her artful entreaties; and his being in a great measure intoxicated when the fact was committed brought him to a compliance.

There are various opinions and conjectures of Thomas Billings as to his birth and parentage; Mrs. Hayes herself, some few days before the execution, affirmed him to be her own son, lawfully begotten by Mr. Hayes after her marriage with him, and that he was twenty years of age at his execution; that Mr. Hayes not loving him when an infant, he was put out to her relations to nurse, and took the name of Billings from his godfather who was of that name; but as none of Mr. Hayes's relations knew or heard of her ever having had any such child, and as it is certain she, even till the very time of her death, prevaricated in several things, there is little reason to believe it to be so.

The only account he could give of himself was, that he believed himself to be a near relation to Mrs. Hayes, but by what means he could not tell; that he also believed he was a bastard, but had no other knowledge of his parents, than that a Shoemaker in the country passed for his father.

He said he was brought up in the country, and put to school, where he learned to read and write; that he was afterwards put apprentice to a Taylor, with whom he served his apprenticeship, at the expiration of which he came to town, and lodging with Mr. Hayes, worked in Monmouth-street, and other places in that neighbourhood, till he was drawn into the commission of the fact for which he suffered.

He said farther, that Mrs. Hayes never told him any thing of his being her son till after her condemnation, and a few days before the execution.

The best account of Billings is, that he was found in a basket on a common, not far from the place where Catherine lived in the country, before she was married to Mr. Hayes; that he was put out to nurse, at the expence of the parish, to people of the name of Billings, from whom he derived that name; that when of a proper age, he was likewise put apprentice, at the parish charge, to Mr. Wetherland, a Taylor, to whom they gave forty shillings with him.

At the time of his execution he was twenty-two or twenty-three years of age; whereas Mrs. Hayes, by her own confession, had been married only twenty years and eight months. 'Tis not unlikely that Billings was a natural child of Mrs. Hayes's, born in her rambles before marriage, and dropped by her where he was found.

Billings appeared much restrained in his behaviour before Mrs. Hayes, and influenced by her; nor was he so ingenuous in his confession after sentence as he had been before, but evaded several questions that were asked him, especially in Mrs. Hayes's company: he otherwise seemed to have a great remorse of conscience for the crime he had committed, and appeared penitent and devout during his confinement.

After sentence Mrs. Hayes behaved herself with more indifference than might have been expected from one under her circumstances; she frequently expressed herself to be under no concern at her approaching death, only the manner of it appeared to carry some terror with it; she shewed more concern for Billings than for herself, and also a surprizing fondness for him in all her actions; when in the chapel she would sit with her hand in his, and lean upon his breast and shoulder, and he on her's; for this she was reprimanded, as being offensive to the spectators, both in regard to the indecency of the action, and as it shewed her esteem for the murderer of her husband; notwithstanding which reason she would not desist, but continued the same until the minute of her death; one of her last expressions to the executioner, as she was going from the sledge to the stake, being an enquiry if he had hanged her dear child.

On the Friday evening before her execution (being assured she should die on the Monday following) she attempted to destroy herself; to which purpose she had procured a bottle of strong poison, designing to have taken the same; but a woman who was in the place with her, touching the same with her lips, found it burned them to an extraordinary degree, and spilling a little on her handkerchief, it burned that also; upon which, suspecting her intentions, she broke the phial, whereby her design was frustrated.

On the day of her execution she was at prayers, and received the sacrament in the chapel, where she still shewed her tenderness for Billings. About twelve the prisoners were severally carried away for execution, Billings with eight others, for various crimes, were put into three carts, and Catherine Hayes was drawn upon a sledge to the place of execution, where being arrived, Billings, with the other eight,

eight, after having had some time for their private devotions, were turned off. After which, Catherine Hayes being brought to the stake, was chained thereto with an iron chain, running round her waist, and under her arms, and a rope round her neck, which was drawn through a hole in the post; then the faggots, intermixed with light brush wood and straw, being piled all round her, the executioner put fire thereto in several places, which immediately blazing out, as soon as the same reached her, she with her arms pushed down those which were before her, when she appeared in the middle of the flames as low as the waist; upon which the executioner got hold of the end of the cord which was round her neck, and pulled it tight, in order to strangle her, but the fire soon reached his hand, and burnt it, so that he was obliged to let it go again: more faggots were immediately thrown upon her, and in about three or four hours she was reduced to ashes: in the mean time Billings's irons were put upon him as he was hanging on the gallows; after which being cut down, he was carried to the gibbet, about 100 yards distance, and there hung up in chains.

They were executed at Tyburn on the 9th of May, 1726.

An anonymous punster, imagining that this execrable murder was a proper subject for drollery, exerted his talent in composing the following ballad.

A SONG, *on the Murder of Mr. Hayes.*

(*To the Tune of Chevy Chase.*)

By Mrs. HAYES.

1.

IN Tyburn-road a man there liv'd
A just and honest life,
And there he might have lived still
If so had pleas'd his wife.

2.

But she to vicious ways inclin'd,
A life most wicked led,
With Taylors and with Tinkers too
She oft defil'd his bed.

3.

Full twice a-day to church he went,
And so devout would be,
Sure never was a faint on earth,
If that no faint was he!

4.

This vex'd his wife unto the heart,
She was of wrath so full,
That finding no hole in his coat,
She pick'd one in his scull.

5.

But then her heart began to relent,
And griev'd she was so fore,
That quarter to him for to give,
She cut him into four.

6.

All in the dark and dead of night,
These quarters she conveyed,
And in a ditch at Marybone,
His marrow-bones she laid.

7.

His head at Westminster she threw,
 All in the Thames so wide;
 Says she, my dear, the wind sets fair,
 And you may have the tide.

8.

But Heav'n, whose pow'r no limit knows
 On earth, or on the main,
 Soon caus'd this head for to be thrown
 Upon the land again.

9.

This head being found, the justices
 Their heads together laid;
 And all agreed there must have been
 Some body to this head.

10.

But since no body could be found,
 High mounted on a shelf,
 They e'en set up the head to be
 A witness for itself.

11.

Next, that it no self-murder was,
 The case itself explains,
 For no man could cut off his head,
 And throw it in the Thames.

12.

Ere many days had gone and past,
 The deed at length was known,
 And Cath'rine she confess'd, at last,
 The fact to be her own.

13.

God prosper long our noble King,
 Our lives and safeties all,
 And grant that we may warning take
 By Cath'rine Hayes's fall.

The Trials of RICHARD SAVAGE, JAMES GREGORY, *and* WILLIAM MERCHANT, *for Murder, with several curious particulars respecting Mr. Savage.*

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in December, 1727, *Richard Savage, James Gregory, and William Merchant* were indicted for the murder of James Sinclair:—Savage by giving him with a drawn sword one mortal wound in the lower part of the belly, of the length of half an inch, and the depth of nine inches, on the 20th of November last, of which mortal wound he languished till the next day, and then died:—and Gregory and Merchant by being present, aiding, abetting, comforting, and maintaining the said Savage, in the commission of the said murder.

The prisoners desired that the witnesses against them might be examined apart, which was readily granted.

Mr. Nuttal deposed, that on the 20th of November, about eleven o'clock at night, the deceased, Mr. Lemery, a brother of Lemery, and this deponent, went to Robinson's Coffee-House, near Charing-Cross, where they staid till one or two in the morning. That they had drank two bowls of punch, and were just going away, when the prisoner came into the room. Merchant entered first, and without any provocation kicked down the table; on which this deponent said, "What do you mean;" and "What do *you* mean," cried Gregory.

Presently

Presently Savage drew his sword, and the company retreated to the farther end of the room. Gregory also drawing, this deponent desired them to put up their swords, but they refused.

This deponent did not see the deceased draw, but Gregory, turning to him, said, "Villian deliver your sword;" soon after which he took the sword from the deceased.

Gregory's sword was broke in the scuffle; but with the sword of the deceased and part of his own, he came and demanded this deponent's sword, which he refusing to deliver, Gregory made a thrust at him.

Mr. Nuttal defended himself; Gregory endeavoured to get his sword from him, but he either fell of himself, or Mr. Nuttal threw him, and took the sword of the deceased from him; and three soldiers coming into the room, they secured him.

This evidence did not see Savage push at the deceased, but he heard the deceased say, "I am a dead man;" soon after which the candles were put out.

Mr. Nuttal afterwards went to the deceased, and saw something hang out of his belly which he took to be his caul. The maid of the house came in, and kneeled down to suck the wound; soon after which this witness and Gregory were conducted to the watch-house.

Mr. Lemery deposed, that he was with the deceased, Mr. Nuttal, and his (Lemery's) brother, at Robinson's Coffee-house, and they were ready to go home when somebody knocked at the [street] door, which being opened by the landlady, she let in the prisoners, and lighted them into another room; but they would not stay there, and rudely came into the room where was this deponent and his friends. Merchant kicked down the table. Gregory went up to

to the deceased, and said, "God damn ye, you rascal, deliver the sword!" swords were drawn; Savage made a thrust at the deceased, who stooped, and cried Oh! at which Savage turned pale, stood for some time affrighted, and then endeavoured to get away; but this deponent held him.—The lights were then put out: they struggled together: the maid came to this deponent's assistance, pulled off Savage's hat and wig, and clung about him. He, in striving to force himself from her, struck at her, cut her in the head with his sword, and at length got away.

This deponent went to a night cellar, and called two or three soldiers, who took Savage and Merchant in a back court.—When Savage gave the wound the deceased had his sword drawn, but held it with the point down towards the ground, on the left side.

As to Merchant, neither this deponent nor the former saw that he had any sword; Mr. Nuttal likewise deposed, that he was taken with Savage in a back court.

Jane Leader deposed, that she was in the room, and saw Savage draw first: then Gregory went up to the deceased, and Savage stabbed him, and turning back, looked pale. The deceased cried out "I am dead! I am dead!" This deponent opened his coat, and bid the maid-servant suck the wound; which she did, but no blood came.

This evidence went to see the deceased on his death-bed, and desired him to tell her how he was wounded: he said that the wound was given him by the least man in black; (which must be Savage, for Merchant had no sword, and was in coloured cloaths,) and that the tallest of them, (which was Gregory) passed, or struck his sword, while Savage stabbed him. This deponent did not see the deceased's sword

sword at all; and she declared that he did not speak word to the prisoners.

Mrs. Enderby, who kept Robinson's Coffee-House, deposed, that when she let the prisoners in, she perceived they were in liquor—shewed them a room—they were very rude to her—she told them that if they wanted liquor they should have it; but if they did not she desired their absence; upon which one of them took up a chair, and offered to strike her with it; they then went into the next room, where Merchant kicked down the table—swords were drawn, the deceased was wounded, and Savage struggled with the maid-servant, and cut her over the head with his sword.

Mr. Taylor, a Clergyman, deposed, that on the twenty-first of November he was sent for to pray by the deceased, and after he had recommended him to the mercy of Almighty God, Mr. Nuttal desired him to ask the wounded man a few questions; but this deponent, thinking it did not belong to his province, declined it. Mr. Nuttal, however, willing to have a witness to the words of a dying man, persuaded him to stay while he himself asked a question: and then turning to the deceased, he said, “Do you know from which of the gentlemen you received the wound?”—The deceased answered, “From the shortest in black, (which was Savage) the tallest commanded my sword, and the other stabbed me.”

Rowland Holdernefs, a Watchman, deposed, that he came into the room just after the wound was given, and heard the deceased say, “I was stabbed barbarously before my sword was drawn.”

John Wilcox, another Watchman, deposed, that he saw the deceased leaning his head upon his hand, and heard him say, “I am a dead man, and was stabbed cowardly.”

Mr. Wilkey, a Surgeon, deposed, that he searched the wound, which was on the left side of the belly, as high as the navel; that the sword had grazed upon the kidney, and he believed that wound was the cause of his death.

Mr. Wilkey being asked by the court, if he thought the deceased could receive that wound in a posture of defence, answered, that he believed he could not, except he was left-handed.

Mr. Savage, in his defence, gave the court an account of his meeting with Gregory and Merchant, and going with them to Robinson's Coffee-House: he then made some remarks on what had been sworn by the witnesses, and declared that his endeavouring to make his escape was only to avoid the inconveniences of a prison.

Mr. Gregory said, that the reason of their going into that room, was for the benefit of the fire; that the table was thrown down accidentally; that the house bore an infamous character, and that some of the witnesses lay under the imputation of being persons who had no regard to justice and morality.

Several witnesses were called in behalf of the prisoners; among whom were Henry Huggins, Thomas Huggins, and Robert Fish, who deposed, that they were present at the latter part of the quarrel, and saw Mr. Nuttal engaged with Mr. Gregory, and struggling with a sword.*—They added, that the Coffee-House was a house of ill fame.

John Pearce deposed, that Jane Leader told him, that, when the swords were drawn, she went out of the room, and did not see the wound given: that she was a woman of ill reputation, and that the Coffee-house had a bad character.

Daniel Boyle deposed, that the deceased bore the character of an idle person, who had no settled place of residence.

* This only confirmed part of Nuttal's evidence.

John Eaton deposed, that he had known the deceased about two months, and had heard that his character was but indifferent.

Mr. Rainby deposed, that, the morning after the accident, he went to the Coffee-House to enquire for Mr. Merchant, and then heard Mr. Nuttal say, that if he had any of the prisoners in a convenient place, he would cut their throats, provided he could be sure of escaping the law.

This deposition of Mr. Rainby was confirmed by Mr. Cheesborough.

Mr. Nuttal said, that being moved with the barbarous treatment his friend had met with, he believed he might say, that if he had them in an open field, he would not have recourse to the law, but do them justice himself.

Then Mr. Nuttal called some gentlemen who deposed, that he was a man of reputation, civility, and good manners.

Several persons of distinction appeared in behalf of the prisoners, and gave them the characters of good-natured, quiet, peaceable men, and by no means inclinable to be quarrelsome.

After which the prisoners said, they hoped the good characters which had been given them, the suddenness of the unfortunate accident, and their having no premeditated malice, would entitle them to some favour.

The court, having summed up the evidence, observed to the jury, that as the deceased and his company were in possession of the room, if the prisoners were the aggressors by coming into that room, kicking down the table, and immediately thereupon drawing their swords without provocation, and the deceased retreated, was pursued, attacked, and killed in the manner as had been sworn by the witnesses, it was murder, not only in him who gave the wound, but in the others, who aided and abet-

ted him. That as to the characters of the prisoners, good character is of weight where the proof is doubtful, but flies up, when put in the scale against plain and positive evidence: and, as to the suddenness of the action; where there is a sudden quarrel, and a provocation is given by him who is killed, or where suddenly and mutually persons attack each other and fight, and one of them is killed in the heat of blood, it is manslaughter. But, where one is the aggressor, pursues the insult, and kills the person attacked, without any provocation, though on a sudden, the law implies malice, and it is murder.

The trial lasted about eight hours. The jury found Richard Savage and James Gregory guilty of murder, and William Merchant guilty of manslaughter.

On Monday, December 11, being the last day of the sessions, Richard Savage, and James Gregory, with four other prisoners, who had been capitally convicted, were brought again to the bar, to receive sentence of death; and being severally asked (as is usual on such occasions) what they had to say, why judgment should not be passed upon them, Mr. Savage addressed himself to the court in the following terms:

“ It is now, my lord, too late to offer any thing by
 “ way of defence, or vindication; nor can we ex-
 “ pect ought from your lordships, in this court, but
 “ the sentence which the law requires you as judges
 “ to pronounce against men of our calamitous condi-
 “ tion.—But we are also persuaded, that as meer men,
 “ and out of this seat of rigorous justice, you are
 “ susceptible of the tender passions, and too humane,
 “ not to commiserate the unhappy situation of those,
 “ whom the law sometimes perhaps—exact—s—from
 “ you to pronounce sentence upon.

“ No doubt you distinguish between offences,
 “ which arise out of premeditation, and a disposi-
 “ tion habitual to vice or immorality, and trans-
 “ gressions,

“ gressions, which are the unhappy and unforeseen
 “ effects of a casual absence of reason, and sud-
 “ den impulse of passion; we, therefore, hope you
 “ will contribute all you can to an extension of that
 “ mercy, which the gentlemen of the jury have been
 “ pleased to shew Mr. Merchant, who (allowing
 “ facts as sworn against us by the evidence) has led
 “ us into this our calamity.

“ I hope, this will not be construed as if we meant
 “ to reflect upon that gentleman, or remove any thing
 “ from us upon him, or, that we repine the more
 “ at our fate, because he has no participation of it:
 “ no, my lord! for my part, I declare nothing could
 “ more soften my grief, than to be without any com-
 “ panion in so great a misfortune.”

Mr. Merchant was burnt in the hand.

At the end of the next sessions, which was on Saturday the 20th of January, Richard Savage, and James Gregory were admitted to bail, in order to their pleading the King's pardon; and, on the last day of the following sessions, being the 5th of March, 1727-8, they accordingly pleaded his Majesty's pardon, and their bail were discharged.

During the time the prisoners lay under sentence of death, a six-penny pamphlet was published, intituled, “ The Life of Mr. Richard Savage.” It represents him as a man of merit under misfortunes, and consequently a proper object of the King's mercy. From this piece we shall extract a few passages.

“ —His misfortunes may be said to be begun
 “ before his birth; for when his mother, the late
 “ Countess of M—— was big with child of him,
 “ she publicly declared, that the infant then in her
 “ womb, did not in the least appertain to her hus-
 “ band, but to another noble Earl; upon which a
 “ trial was commenced in the House of Lords, and
 “ my Lord M—— obtained a divorce: his lady had
 “ her

“ her fortune, which was very considerable, paid
 “ back to her again, with full liberty of marrying
 “ whom she pleased, which liberty she made use of
 “ in a very short time.—Her son, being thus bas-
 “ tardized, could not be born as otherwise he would
 “ have been, a lord by courtesy, and heir to the
 “ title of an English Earl, with one of the finest
 “ estates in the kingdom.—The day of his birth was
 “ January 10, 1697—8.—

“ An affair of this extraordinary kind did not a
 “ little employ the conversation and scandal of the
 “ town, for which reason the lady resolving to move
 “ out of her sight him, who was innocently the
 “ cause of her reproach, committed him to the care
 “ of a poor woman, with orders to breed him up
 “ as her own,—laying a strict injunction upon her,
 “ never to let him come to the knowledge of his real
 “ parents.

“ The nurse was faithful to the trust reposed in
 “ her—whose name was the only one, for many
 “ years he knew he had any claim to, and was
 “ called after it accordingly, although his real fa-
 “ ther, the late Earl Rivers, was one of his godfa-
 “ thers, and had his right name regularly registered
 “ in the parish books of St. Andrew’s Holborn.

“ He was sent to a grammar school at St. Alban’s.
 “ —While he was at school his father, the Earl
 “ Rivers died, who had several times made enquiry af-
 “ ter him, but could never get any satisfactory ac-
 “ count.—And when on his death-bed he more stre-
 “ nuously demanded to know what was become of
 “ him, in order to make him a partaker in that
 “ very handsome estate he left among his natural chil-
 “ dren, he was positively told he was dead.—

“ When he was about fifteen, he was solicited to
 “ be bound apprentice to a Shoemaker, which pro-
 “ posal he rejected with scorn; for he had now, by
 “ the death of his nurse, discovered some letters of
 “ his

“ his grandmother’s, and by those means, the whole
 “ contrivance that had been carried on to conceal
 “ his birth. And, being now entirely destitute of
 “ every the least necessary of life, to whom was it
 “ so natural to apply as to a mother?—But the mo-
 “ ther upon no terms would endure the sight of
 “ her son; the son, on all occasions, expressing his
 “ affection for his mother, and the strong desire he
 “ had of seeing her. ———

“ Being thus abandoned, without any other friend
 “ but his own genius to support him, he threw him-
 “ self upon the barren and unthriving province of
 “ poetry. ———

“ The first poem Mr. Savage published, was,
 “ whilst he was very young, concerning the Bango-
 “ rian Controversy: Although there were some pret-
 “ ty lines in it, yet, as his judgment ripened, he
 “ himself grew ashamed of this piece, and contri-
 “ buted all he could to suppress the edition.

“ His next performance was a comedy, wrote at
 “ the age of eighteen, which he offered to the ma-
 “ nagers of Lincoln’s-Inn house; but, they not en-
 “ tirely approving it, he could not get it acted imme-
 “ diately; but not long after, it was altered by Mr.
 “ Christopher Bullock, and brought upon the stage
 “ as his own, under the title of “Woman’s a Riddle,”
 “ without any manner of benefit or advantage to
 “ the distressed author. This play was represented
 “ with some applause in the year 1716. The
 “ plot is taken from a Spanish play, called, La Dama
 “ Duende. ———

“ Two years after this, he got a comedy upon
 “ the stage in Drury-Lane, called, “Love in a Veil,”
 “ built likewise upon a Spanish plot — acted for his
 “ own benefit: but, it being very late in the year,
 “ either May or June, the profits of it hardly an-
 “ swered the trouble in writing and getting it
 “ acted. It brought him acquainted, however, with
 “ some

“ some persons who were good friends to him after-
 “ terwards; particularly a certain knight, whose name
 “ is not a little known by his writings, and Mr.
 “ Wilks, one of the patentees of that house. The
 “ first was so for a short time, but the latter—con-
 “ stantly.—The other gentleman gave him a constant
 “ allowance, and it is said, he proposed his natural
 “ daughter to him for a wife, with a 1000 l. portion;
 “ —But some malicious person had framed such a
 “ story to the knight, of scandalous things said by
 “ Mr. Savage against him and his lady, that he
 “ with-held his bounty from him, and was not easily
 “ prevailed upon to see him afterwards.

“ Now he was again entirely to seek for every
 “ support of life, when, by the assistance of the gen-
 “ tleman [Mr. Wilks] just mentioned, he obtained
 “ 50 l.—from a lady, whose duty it seemed to have
 “ been to take some care of him. —

“ His merit recommended him to that ornament
 “ of English Poesy, Aaron Hill, Esq.—miserable as
 “ he was in every other part of his life, his intimacy
 “ and friendship with this gentleman, was a happi-
 “ ness he has been much envied for.—

“ In the year 1724, Mr. Savage wrote his trage-
 “ dy of Sir Thomas Overbury, which was acted at
 “ Drury-Lane.—He performed the principal part
 “ himself, with much applause. In an advertise-
 “ ment printed before it, he acknowledges the ob-
 “ ligation he had to his best and dearest friend,
 “ Mr. Aaron Hill, for his many judicious corrections
 “ in it. The prologue and epilogue were both writ-
 “ ten by that gentleman.

“ The next year he was persuaded by his friends
 “ to publish his poems by subscription; but not being
 “ enough to make a compleat volume, he was favour-
 “ ed with those of several other gentlemen, among
 “ which Mr. Hill had the largest share.

“ He

“ He wrote the following copy of verses at a time,
 “ when I know not which was most to be wondered
 “ at, that he should be serene enough for poetry un-
 “ der the extremity of ill fortune, or that his sub-
 “ ject should be the praise of her to whom he owed a
 “ life of misery.”

Hopeless, abandon'd, aimless and oppress'd,
 Lost to delight, and every way distress'd,
 Cross his cold bed, in wild disorder thrown,
 Thus sigh'd Alexis, friendless and alone—
 Why do I breathe? what joy can Being give,
 When she who gave me life, forgets I live?
 Feels not these wintry blasts—nor heeds my smart,
 But shuts me from the shelter of her heart!
 Saw me expos'd to want! to shame! to scorn!
 To ills!—which make it misery to be born!
 Cast me, regardless, on the world's bleak wild:
 And bade me be a wretch, while yet a child!
 Where can he hope for pity, peace or rest,
 Who moves no softness in a mother's breast?
 Custom, law, reason, All my cause forsake,
 And nature sleeps, to keep my woes awake.
 Crimes, which the cruel scarce believe can be,
 The kind are guilty of, to ruin me!
 Even she who bore me, blasts me with her hate,
 And meant my fortune, makes herself my fate!
 Yet has this sweet neglecter of my woes,
 The softest, tenderest breast that pity knows!
 Her eyes shed mercy, wheresoe'er they shine;
 And her soul melts at every woe—but mine.
 Sure then, some secret fate, for guilt unwill'd,
 Some sentence pre-ordain'd to be fulfill'd,
 Plung'd me thus deep in sorrows searching flood,
 And wash'd me from the memory of her blood.
 But O! whatever cause has mov'd her hate,
 Let me but sigh in silence at my fate:

The God within, perhaps, may touch her breast;
And when she pities, who can be distress'd?

“ These verses were published in *The Plain Dealer*,
“ to whom Mr. Savage afterwards wrote a letter him-
“ self, which was printed in that paper, in which he
“ mentions his subscription, and begs those who think
“ him, or his design worth their notice or encou-
“ ragement, to send their names, and the number
“ of books they subscribe for, to Button's Coffee-
“ House.—

“ The dedication of this book was, to the Right
“ Hon. the Lady Mary Wortley Montague, where-
“ in he says thus: “ Nature seems to have formed
“ my mind as inconsistently as fortune has my con-
“ ditions: she has given me a heart that is as proud
“ as my father's; to a rank of life, almost as low as
“ the humanity of my mother!”

“ He had also wrote a long preface to it, giving
“ some account of his mother's unparalleled ill treat-
“ ment of him; but was prevailed on to cancel it:
“ and about that time he had a pension of 50*l.* a
“ year settled on him. I will not venture to say,
“ whether this allowance came directly from her, or,
“ if so, upon what motives she was induced to grant
“ it him. But this was the first time he may pro-
“ perly be said to have enjoyed any certainty in life.
“ And this, alas! of how short a duration is it like
“ to be, from the unhappy affair that has brought
“ him under the heaviest sentence of the law! a
“ sentence, which, of all men living, he was thought
“ the most unlikely to have incurred.—

“ The last piece, which he exhibited to the world,
“ was a poem sacred to the memory of our late most
“ gracious sovereign.*

* King George the First.

“ But

“ But to come to the dismal cause of his present
 “ condition. Having for some time had a lodging
 “ at Richmond in Surry, for the benefit of the air,
 “ and the conveniencies of his study, he came to
 “ town on Monday the 20th day of November last,
 “ in order to pay off another he had in Queen-street,
 “ Westminster, thinking the expence too great to
 “ keep them both; and, falling into company with
 “ Mr. Merchant and Mr. Gregory, they all went
 “ together to a Coffee-house, near his old lodging,
 “ where they drank till pretty late in the evening: Mr.
 “ Savage would willingly have got a bed at the
 “ Coffee house for that night, but there not being a
 “ conveniency for himself and company both, they went
 “ away from thence with a resolution to waste time
 “ as well as they could till morning, when they pro-
 “ posed to go together to Richmond.

“ In their walks, seeing a light in Robinson's
 “ Coffee-house, they thought that a place proper to
 “ entertain them; though Mr. Savage protested he
 “ was intirely ignorant of the character of the house,
 “ and had never been there in his life before: let
 “ it suffice, in this place, to say, that the direful con-
 “ sequence of their going in there, was an insult
 “ offered by Mr. Merchant to the company who
 “ were drinking there, a mortal wound given to Mr.
 “ Sinclair, of which he languished till the next day,
 “ and then died; and the condemnation of Mr. Sa-
 “ vage and Mr. Gregory for the said fact.

“ They were secured for that night, and in the
 “ morning carried before Nathaniel Blackerby, Esq.
 “ and two other of his Majesty's justices of the
 “ peace, and by them committed to the Gatehouse;
 “ but, Mr. Sinclair dying, they were from thence
 “ removed to Newgate, between twelve and one
 “ o'clock on Tuesday night.

“ The Coroner's Inquest, having sat upon the body,
 “ did not finish their enquiry at their first meeting,

“ but adjourned till the Tuesday following, and then
 “ brought in their verdict Manslaughter.

*Account of the Life and Behaviour of JOHN
 EVERETT, who was hanged for robbing on
 the Highway.*

IT will be needless to recite any particulars of the trial of this malefactor, which had nothing remarkable in it: suffice it therefore to say that he was convicted on the clearest evidence: but as the following account of his villainous life and transactions was written at a time when he could have no interest in deceiving mankind, we have given it in his own words, after having made some few corrections in the language.

We confess that in many parts of this narrative there is an air of levity very ill becoming the circumstances and situation of the prisoner; but from hence our readers may learn, that habits of vice and folly are with great difficulty got rid of, even on the verge of the grave; and a reflection will very naturally arise, that habits which are thus hard to get rid of should never be learnt; since it is an undoubted and eternal truth, that “ Evil communications corrupt good manners!”

The following is the Account which John Everett gave of himself a few days before he was executed.

I Was born at Hitchin in Hertfordshire, of creditable parents, my father being possessed of an estate of 300 l. per ann. and in my minority I was
 carefully

carefully instructed in several parts of learning necessary to qualify me for any manner of business.

I was, when at proper age, put apprentice to a Salesman, that business being originally intended for me, and my good indulgent father gave to my master, as an apprentice fee, fifty guineas, besides his providing for me necessary cloathing; but before my time was expired I quitted my master, and went into Flanders, and was in the late wars there, in several sieges and battles, and acquired by a discreet behaviour, the love and friendship of most of the commanding officers, and after I had so distinguished myself, I was raised to the place of a serjeant, in the Hon. General How's regiment of foot; and on my return from Flanders into England, the regiment was quartered at Worcester, and there I purchased my discharge, on which I took a tour up to London, and purchased the place of an officer of White-Chapel Court, in which station I continued upwards of seven years; and being of an easy and good-natured disposition, in compassion to several distressed objects which came in my way, I took several people's words too often, after I had arrested them, the consequences of which obliged me to quit my place.

Being sued for debts brought on me by those misfortunes, by one Thomas Charlesworth, a Solicitor in White-Chapel, who before had been seemingly my friend, and had often advised me to some things that did not prove very beneficial to me; I therefore as a shelter against my misfortune, was obliged to enlist myself in the foot-guards, and served some time in my Lord Albemarle's company; I unhappily fell into company with one Richard Bird, at the above-said Mr. Charlesworth's, and after having conversed together on the affairs of life, and acquainting me of some particular advantages which might be had, provided I could be trusted, I took
the

the hint readily; and, in short, we agreed to take the road, entirely confiding in each other.

We committed several robberies in Middlesex, Essex, Surry and Kent; one particular robbery was by us committed on the Dartford coach in Kent, when we took from the passengers a portmanteau, in which were contained jewels, diamonds, money, and other goods of very great value. The Woodford stage coach we likewise robbed of a gold watch and some silver, but afterwards returned the watch to the owner.

Another robbery committed by us was on Hounslow-Heath, on two officers of the army, who were well mounted, and guarded with servants armed with blunderbusses: we took their gold watches and money from them, though they endeavoured to resist; but we forced them to submit to the well-known doctrine of Passive-Obedience before we quitted them; the watches (pursuant to a treaty we made with them on the spot) were afterwards left at Young-Man's Coffee house, Charing-Cross, where the owners had them again on payment of twenty guineas, as stipulated in the said treaty between us.

Another robbery committed by us was on Esquire Am-
low (of Bream's-Buildings in Chancery-Lane,) near Epsom; and when he was attacked he drew his sword, and made several passes against us, as he sat in an open chaise; but notwithstanding his resolution in opposing us, it was of no avail, for we by force took two guineas, a silver watch, his silver hilted sword, and some parchment writings of a considerable value; and on his submission, and having requested his writings, we accordingly delivered them up, and let him pass, and helped him to his watch, being in the hands of Mr. Calcutt, a Pawn-broker in Hounds-ditch.

We also took opportunities to rob all the butchers and higlers from Epping-Forest to Woodford, and
continued

continued so doing for several times, and particularly one old woman who wore a high crown'd hat of her mother's, as she said, which hat we took and searched, and in the lining found 3 l. and delivered her the hat again. On Acton Common we also met two chariots with gentlemen and ladies in them, and robbed them of money, watches, and other things, to the value of 30 l.

Soon after this last atchievement, my old comrade Dick Bird and I stopt a coach in the evening on Hounslow-Heath, in which (amongst other passengers) were two precise but courageous Quakers, who had the assurance to call us "Sons of violence," and refusing to comply with our demands, jumped out of the coach to give us battle; whereupon we began a sharp engagement, and shewed them that the Arm of Flesh was too strong for the Spirit, which seemed to move powerfully within them. After a short contest, (though we never offered to fire, for I ever abhorred barbarity, or the more heinous sin of murder) through the cowardly persuasions of their fellow-travellers they submitted, though sore against their inclinations.

As they were stout fellows, and men every inch of them, we scorned to abuse them, and contented ourselves with rifling them of the little mammon of unrighteousness which they had about them, which amounted to about thirty or forty shillings and their watches: the rest in the coach, whose hearts were sunk into their breeches, Dick fleeced without the least resistance: there was one circumstance of this affair which created a little diversion, and therefore with my readers leave I will relate it.

The Quakers for the most part, though they are plain in their dress, wear the best of commodities, and though a smart toupee is an abomination, yet a bob or a natural of six or seven guineas price is
a modest

a modest covering allowed of by the faints; one of the Prigs was well furnished in this particular, and flattering myself it would become me, I resolved to make it lawful plunder; without any further ceremony therefore, than alledging, "Exchange was no robbery," I napped his poll, and dressed him immediately in masquerade, with an old black tye, which I had the day before purchased of an antiquated Chelsea pensioner for half a crown. The other company, though in doleful dumps for the loss of their money, could not forbear grinning at the merry metamorphosis, for our Quaker looked now more like a devil than a faint.

As companions in distress ever alleviate its weight, they invited him with a general laugh into their leathern convenience again, wished us a good night, and hoped they should have no farther molestation on the road: we gave them a Watch Word, and assured them they should not; tipped the honest coachman a shilling to drink our healths, and so brushed off the ground.

About a week or ten days after, my brother Dick and I projected a new scheme, more humble than the former, to take a purse without the expence of horse hire: Hillington-Common was determined to be the scene of action; we sauntered some time upon the Green, and suffered several to pass by without the least molestation, but at last we espied two gentlemen well mounted coming towards us, who we imagined might be able to replenish our empty purses; so we prepared for an attack, whereupon, after the usual salutation, I stopt the foremost and demanded his cash, watch, and other appurtenances thereunto belonging, and assured him I was a younger brother of an honourable but numerous family, that "to work I had no inclination, and to beg I was ashamed;" and that since I had at present

sent no other way for a livelihood, if such a demand at first view might appear a little immodest or unreasonable, I hoped he would excuse it, as necessity and not choice was the fatal inducement.

My brother Dick was as rhetorical in his apologies with the hindmost whom he dismounted; we used them with more good manners and humanity than the common pads, who act for the most part more like Turks and Jews than Christians in such enterprizes, to the eternal scandal of the profession.

We contented ourselves with what silver and little gold they had about them, which amounted to about three or four pounds, and their gold watches, one of which, as well as I remember, was of Tompion's make, and which I afterwards pawned for five guineas to a fellow that the week after broke and run away with it, so that I had not the opportunity of restoring it again to the proper owner, for which I heartily beg his pardon: as we must own the gentlemen behaved well, and came into our measures without the least resistance, so they must do us the justice to acknowledge that we treated them as such, and neither disrobed nor abused them; we thought it however common prudence to cut the girths of their horses saddles, and secure their bridles for fear of a pursuit.

Thus flushed again with success, we made the best of our way to Brentford, and there took the Ferry: but fortune though she is a fair, yet she is a fickle mistress, her smiles are often false, and very precarious. Before we had got ashore, we heard the persons had got scent of us, and our triumph had like to have ended in captivity. When we were three parts over, and out of danger of drowning, we told the ferrymen our distress, gave them 10s. and obliged them to throw their oars into the Thames; the agreeable reward, and the fears of being thrown in themselves in case of a denial, made them readily

comply ; in we plunged after them, and soon made the shore: though we looked like Hob just drawn out of the well, those that saw us only imagined 'twas a drunken frolic. Our expeditious flight soon dried our cloaths, and without catching the least cold, we arrived safe that night in London. We congratulated each other you may imagine on our happy and narrow escape, and solaced ourselves after the fatigues of the day with a mistress and a bottle.

There are four other robberies which I readily acknowledge I have committed since I left the Cock-Alehouse in the Old-Bailey, of which I shall give the reader a true and faithful account in their proper place.

As the proverb observes, "The pitcher does not always come whole from the well;" I was at last taken up for a robbery and sent to New-prison, where I remained confined three years, and Providence as I fancied in some measure favouring me, I had the honour and happiness to have a great number of justices to sign for me to enjoy my liberty.

During this confinement there, I behaved myself with prudence and great humanity, for which, and my experienced conduct on the road, I was promoted to the degree of Turnkey to the said prison; but the then keeper dying, I quitted the employment aforesaid, and kept the Red-Lion alehouse in Turnmill-street, Cow-Cross, and before I could settle myself it cost me upwards of 100*l.* and when a new keeper was appointed and took possession of the prison, (who was the Dutchess of Newcastle's footman) he often visited me, and took opportunities to acquaint me, that he would provide and do very handsomely for me, if I would re-assume the place of Turnkey of his prison, and I was prevailed upon to accept of it, and by that means I instructed him in all the affairs concerning the said prison, and when
he

he was perfectly acquainted with the secrets, benefits and advantages arising from the prison, he then took an opportunity to turn me out of my place, without any just cause or reason, contrary to the agreement made between us, in order to put his brother in my stead.

I was afterwards taken in execution for 60*l.* and brought prisoner to the Fleet, and gave security to the Warden for the liberty of the rules, which cost me upwards of sixteen guineas. That being done, I took the Thistle and Crown in the Old-Bailey, and lived there for some time, till I had the opportunity of a better house, and afterwards took the Cock in the Old-Bailey, where I lived for three years, and the most noted and best of the parish resorted my house; at that time Mr. Bambridge became Warden of the Fleet, and invited me into his service, promising to make me Turnkey to the Fleet, which indeed would have been a beneficial business; upon which I quitted my house, and then could attain no other station than to keep the Fleet cellar or tap-house. It was here I was drawn into the unhappy quarrel between the warden and Sir William Rich, Bart. for which the Honourable House of Commons voted me an agent to Mr. Bambridge in the commission of his crimes, and ordered me close prisoner to Newgate, where I remained till the end of the sessions, and then obtained my liberty, a liberty which hath now proved fatal to me.

I had not only lost that little share of credit and reputation I had acquired since I quitted a wicked course of life, by being in custody on that scandalous occasion, but likewise all my stock of goods, &c. (for during my confinement, my brewer made seizure of my stock of beer, to the value of 300*l.* and upwards) by which means I was entirely ruined and destitute; but notwithstanding so dreadful a misfortune, I had a strong inclination to follow an industri-

ous course of life, without the least intention of returning to my former ill courses already mentioned; but at last the importunities of the Devil, and the difficulty of quitting evil habits for good ones, soon broke through my poor resolutions, and I was determined again for the road, but thought it most prudent and judicious not to join, or admit a second person to be concerned with me; besides, a confederacy with others is the reason why so many crimes of that nature are detected. It is too evident, the robbery for which I am now condemned was committed in as generous a manner, and with as much civility and good manners shewn to the Lady Manly and her daughter, as things of that nature admit of, for the lady was not insulted in the stile that is common to be spoke on such occasions. I was not under the fear or apprehensions of being taken: although I was guilty, I must confess I should be cautious and take the necessary means to preserve my life; but the various circumstances of this robbery having been inserted at large in most of the public papers, I was informed by several of my acquaintance, that the whole neighbourhood suspected my being concerned therein.

At last however, a certain person who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Newgate-Market resolved to ruin me if possible; and without any legal warrant, power, or authority whatsoever to secure me, clandestinely procured several confederates to assist him, and effected by stratagem what he dreaded to attempt by open force; a generous enemy may be guarded against, but there is no avoiding the treacherous designs of a perfidious friend.

In order to accomplish this his scheme, he sent for me to the Red-Hart in Fore-street, by a special messenger, under the specious pretence of business of the utmost importance. I went to him, to be let in to the weighty secret. Soon after I had entered the passage

passage of the ale-house, which is long and dark, the lurking person struck at me with a dagger, which he had concealed in his bosom, but more by accident than art I warded off the blow: and as any man of the least courage or resolution would in the like case, closed him and seized him by the throat: but whilst I was thus warmly engaged with an armed antagonist in my own defence, and with one whom I could not see, two of his associates barbarously with bludgeons felled me to the ground, and then secured me.

This person likewise, in order to hasten my end, as soon as I was thus taken into custody, made it his business to find out Mr. Manly, whose lady had been robbed, in order to give him information of my being secured, and informed the lady that I was the very man that robbed her; upon this, the lady attended by Mr. Manly and a friend or two of his acquaintance, soon after visited me, in order to recollect my features if she could, and fix the fact upon me; as she viewed me she thought, as she then said, there was a great resemblance, and said, "I believe you to be the man."

Triumphant now he publicly insults me, and doubts not but by my speedy execution, (as he has boasted with pleasure in the hearing of several) to be put into the peaceable possession of a large purse of guineas: yet in order to ingratiate himself and gain the good opinion of his friends and neighbours, he vows he has no regard to private interest, but like a true patriot has his whole eye on the good of the public; that 'tis the opinion of every honest man, that restitution should be made to such as have been injured, and that it is as meritorious to bring such a notorious malefactor as me to condign punishment, as for a Roman Bigot to shed the blood of a Heretic; but as I must not pretend to be the judge in

my own cause, I refer my unhappy fate to the serious consideration of all my unprejudiced readers.

This person still further to aggravate my sorrows, and render my character more odious to the world, endeavours to asperse my friends, and asserts (in order to confirm the truth of his allegations) that Mr. Carey lent me two guineas to purchase pistols, and other accoutrements to qualify me for the profession of which I stand convicted, and that he engaged for the hire of the horse on which I committed the fact. But as I am shortly to answer for all my past transactions to an offended God, I solemnly declare, (in justice to injured innocence) that this scandalous insinuation is false and groundless; however, if the world will not regard the words of a dying man, yet I hope his character is too well established amongst the better sort of mankind, to be shaken or destroyed by such flagrant misrepresentations.

This most inveterate person does not stop even here; but to make the measure of my affliction more compleat, endeavours to insinuate that my wife was conscious of my crimes, and joined with others to secure me; but I here solemnly declare, that she never was in the least conscious of my private and unwarrantable actions, much less guilty of the commission of them with me, neither have I the least jealousy of her honour, and I should be unjust to her to the last degree, should I entertain so mean a thought of her conduct.

*The following Robberies I committed since I left the
Cock Ale-House in the Old-Bailey.*

I Determined once more to take up my old profession, and equipped myself accordingly; I purchased therefore a nag that would fly like a hare, and leap like a greyhound; my next purchase was a brace of pistols, a hanger, a red rug coat, and a
new

new hat with a smart cock and a silver edging; though I made all these necessary preparations, they were contrary to my natural inclinations; but necessity has no law, I found I must turn once more, though I had quitted that vocation some years; what will not a man do that has any spirit, to support his credit and reputation amongst his neighbours? honesty I have heard is the best policy, but that would not supply me with fifty pounds upon a pinch, and that was the sum I wanted. I resolved with myself (as I am a dying man) that if I could but collect the sum before-mentioned by the generous contributions of a few monied men, that I thought proper to apply to as I met them upon the road, I would for ever quit the post of Surveyor of his Majesty's Highways without a proper licence.

The reason why I wanted no more than fifty pounds was, because I could with that money have credit of my brewer to the tune of 100 l. or more, and be furnished with the best of liquors.

Though this was the scheme I had laid, I never was so happy as to accomplish it, all my rents which I collected falling vastly short of the sum proposed. If my readers will but allow there may be generosity and humanity to be found among gentlemen of our profession, I think I may lay as fair a claim to those two good qualities as ever any one that followed the calling; I think my deportment in the robbery of which I stand convicted, and for which I am to suffer, will be an undeniable instance in that particular.

The fatal attack I then made was on a gentleman's chariot, in which were a lady and her daughter, accompanied by a child of about five or six years old; as soon as I clapped my pistol into the chariot, the young child was frightened, and began to cry, which gave me some uneasiness; the lady begged that
I would

I would put my pistol up to pacify the child, and she would readily deliver all she had about her; I complied with her request, and she gave me I remember a guinea and some silver, and whilst I received it, my hand shook like an old fellow's with the palsy, and like a clumsy awkward fellow, I let some of the silver drop on the ground; at the same time I saw she was as well provided with a gold watch, gold rings, and other valuable trinkets as a gentleman under my circumstances could reasonably have wished to meet with: yet like a modest fellow, and a gentleman of good manners, I took my leave without asking any farther favours, than what she had readily granted me.

I had like to have forgot one circumstance relating to this affair, which I think worth observing: as soon as I had quitted the chariot and set spurs to my horse, up came the lady's husband and Miss's sweetheart (I presume) to them, who upon information of this transaction rode to overtake me, and pursued me closely into the very town, but they lost their scent at last, and turned up Leather-Lane, whilst I was got into Hatton-Garden. At the Globe tavern I alighted, and ordered the drawer to call me a porter, and whilst I was refreshing myself with a glass of canary, I saw both the gentlemen pass by the door: I concluded that was no resting place long for me, so paid a shilling, and adjourned to a blind public house in Holborn: there I called for a quartern, and before I had well tossed it off, I saw them once more looking for a needle in a bottle of hay. I laughed in my sleeve you may imagine, with the agreeable reflection, that I was as safe as a thief in a mill; I thought myself snug there, so I called for a tankard, and smoked a sober pipe to cool me after my hurry and fatigue.

Then I called a coach at the end of Brook-street in Holborn, and bid him drive me a little beyond Newgate-

Newgate-Market and then stop, which he did ; then I called to him, and bid him drive me to Milk-street, and there he set me down ; then I went to Honey-lane-Market, and bought a hen turkey and a duck, which duck I dressed for my wife's supper and my own, the turkey was preserved for our Christmas dinner, both which I may thank the lady for.

When I was taken by the aforesaid person and his associates, I desired them not to pull and hawl me about to raise a mob, for I would go very quietly : they carried me to the Two-Brewers Ale-house and searched me, and took from me a pistol, a powder-horn, and six bullets ; in the hurry they missed one pistol, which I was very well pleased with : I had not been long but I must be for going before a Justice of Peace ; so it was consulted which way was the most safe to go ; it was at last agreed to get a penny cord to tie across my arms, which accordingly was done ; I went along supported by two persons, one under each arm, and a very good attendance besides ; as we went I complained they had tied my arms so very hard that I could not possibly bear it ; they so far indulged me that they loosened them, which being done I got my hand as privately as possibly I could to that pocket where the pistol was, and just as I had cocked it, my design was to have shot that person which does not live far from Newgate-Market, but he must thank the other person who had me by the other arm, for clapping his hand upon mine, and taking the pistol from me, who said, " What are you at ? "

The next day after I had committed this robbery, it was blown all over Newgate-Market by one Whitaker, well known by the title of the Boxing Drover, at a Coffee-house there kept by a Butcher, who addressed him in the following manner, " What do you think, master ? Daddy Everett, they say, yesterday committed a robbery on the highway, and the

“ whole town rings on’t.” He had not been five minutes gone away to spread the news, (and ill news spreads fast enough in conscience) but I came into the Coffee-house myself; the master and I were old cronies, “ Egad,” says he, “ Jack, I am heartily glad “ to see you, and with a flying report that Whitaker “ is very busy in spreading over the neighbourhood, “ may not prove of very ill consequence to you;” so told me the charge that was fathered upon me: I own I was damnably nettled, and swore (God forgive me) a good round hand, and vowed to be revenged on Whitaker for an officious fool, for endeavouring to blast the character of one who had never offended him.

This was not only the result of hasty passion, but I was resolutely bent upon the execution; whereupon the next evening between four and five o’clock, I charged a brace of pistols with powder and ball, and marched up to Islington to examine all his haunts, being well acquainted with all his private sot-holes and places of resort; I heard of him at several alehouses, but (as I then thought) unfortunately missed of him, which now I am glad of, since I have not now the sin of murder to answer for, which I then had in my heart, for which wicked intention I beg God and his pardon, and hope to find forgiveness from both.

When I was first taken and committed to Newgate, there was a report that soon got a place in the public papers, that I had boldly asserted, “ That the gallows was not yet built that I was to be hanged on.” This in a sort of a bravado, and as a hint of my being innocent, it is possible I might say, or to the like effect. But there was another insinuation at the same time, which was as false and groundless as the other was, true, which was, that I had taken some poisonous preparations to save Jack Ketch the labour of exalting me above my brothers. But this,
as

as I am a dying man, I declare is a scandalous aspersion, and if I must die, though my death be never so ignominious, I never had a thought of committing the most unnatural, the most cowardly crime, and be my own executioner. The illness that at that time attended me, and which was the occasion of that rumour, was in fact the goal distemper.

Just at that juncture a certain woman paid me a visit, which I imagined at first was the effect of her friendship and concern for me; but to my disappointment I found it quite the reverse; as I was very much out of order, I confess the opprobrious language she gave me, (and her tongue was well versed in the terms peculiar to Billingsgate) ruffled my temper so far, that (though I bore with her impertinence a long time with tolerable patience) I threw a glass of punch in her face, and d—d her for an everlasting scold; for which indecent action I heartily beg her pardon, as I likewise do of every person whom I have any ways offended in thought, word, or deed.

There was one assignation which I had made with a certain widow not far from Newgate; in the prosecution of which I ran the hazard of my life, and made good the old proverb, “That sweet meat has commonly fouer sauce.” The relation of this adventure at large may, perhaps, prove as agreeable an amusement as any other circumstance of my irregular life, and must be, I think, some demonstration to my readers, that I was something of a politician that understood trap, and could, in love affairs, make the best market.

Our first acquaintance commenced soon after the decease of her husband, who had taken care to leave a comfortable subsistence behind him for herself and children; so I went among the rest to comfort her under her misfortunes; I said all the agreeable things to her I could on such an occasion, and, after some

time, perceiving she was not so disconsolate on her loss as to be frantic and gallop after him into the grave, I looked with a languishing eye upon her, and whispered in her ear, that the best way to make amends for the loss of one bed-fellow, was to supply herself as soon as conveniently she could with another. In short, I found her coming kind, and our short acquaintance soon grew into intimacy, and our intimacy into a familiar conversation.

We carried on our amours with discretion for some time, and I helped her off with two thirds of her income. One of her sons at last, though but a Clod-pole, had his eyes in his head, and began to smell a rat; upon which I turned her off for some time, and got an evening's conversation only now and then by stealth.

As yet there was no open war declared between my son-in law, as I may call him, and me, but he took the freedom with his mother to censure her conduct, and told, her with some wrath, he suspected that her correspondence with me would end at last in both their ruin.

He watched us both as a cat does a mouse: however, we ventured upon an assignation one evening to comfort our souls over a chearful bottle, at a certain tavern not far from Newgate. We had determined likewise, as my widow, like the old coachman, loved the smack of the whip, to take one rubbers at ——.

How the fool got information of this love project I cannot to this hour determine; but, doubtless, no friend of ours drove it into his empty noddle. We had not tossed off above a pint, but up comes this undutiful young rascal, to our mutual surprize, full of resentment, and without the least regard to decency or good manners towards his mother, vowed to be revenged, and armed with a large case knife wetted on purpose, as sharp as a Cook's at my Lord Mayor's

Mayor's feast, swore he would let out my heart's blood.

I was startled, you may imagine, at such an unexpected interruption of our amours, and stood immediately upon my guard. Though fools have courage enough sometimes, I had more strength as well as art than my antagonist, and soon disarmed him. However, when I found all was pretty safe, being conscious I was the aggressor, I scorned to take the advantage of my good success, but began to argue with him on the injustice of his resentment. I begged him to be quiet, and assured him I had a greater respect for his mother and him too, than to injure either of them. He pretty smartly replied, that I was a liar, for I had helped his mother to spend the best part of her substance, left by his father for her support and his, and that he plainly saw he should inevitably be undone by our mutual extravagance.

This reflection, though it nettled me, I knew was but too just and true; so I exercised my talent of patience and forbearance, and, like a good natured fellow, freely forgave him, as I presumed it was only the result of a jealous fit, and an ill-grounded passion.

I brought him at last, by my easy deportment and good conduct, to be a little cool, and hearken to reason; but as I had a design to wheedle some money out of my widow that night (who took all for gospel whatever I said to her, and regarded my word more than her late husband's oath), I beat my brains for a project to get rid of my troublesome young puppy.

To endeavour it by foul means would have blown my spark into a flame again, and been inconsistent with my former request of an amicable accommodation; I determined therefore still to coax him, to soothe him into a good humour, and to ply him close
with

with liquor till I made him boozy, which I thought was no difficult matter; as his head was none of the best.

Accordingly I addressed him in a very sociable manner; "Prythee, Will," said I, "why should you
"and I fall out, your mother and I never disagreed
"in all our lives, sit down, take thy glass, smoke thy
"pipe, and be good company; if I have any ways
"offended you in word or deed, I'll beg your par-
"don with all my heart."

All this one would think might pacify any reasonable person; but he still grumbled, and muttered out, "No, Mr. Everett, I'll neither drink nor smoke
"with such a person as you are, for I shall never
"forget what you were pleased to say when you
"was committed to Newgate with Mr. Bambridge,
"that you should live to see me hanged."

"Come, come," said I, (still cool and patient)
"I own 'twas an indecent expression, and only spoke
"in the heat of passion; I heartily beg your pardon,
"and as you profess yourself a Christian, Will, you
"should forget and forgive."

In short, by my good conduct, and the interposition of a pacifying word now and then of his mother's, I prevailed at last on my young boisterous booby to sit down and be easy.

I did not doubt now but my project would prove successful, and by plying him close with bumper after bumper, and a little forced mirth, I soon made him as drunk as a swab; in a quarter of an hour he slept like a top, and snored louder than the fall of London-Bridge at low water. Upon this I rang the bell, without any danger of interrupting his golden slumbers, and ordered the drawer to call a coach, which the fellow did accordingly with all the expedition I could wish; upon which I discharged the reckoning, tipped him a Tester, and gave

gave him strict orders to let my companion take his nap out.

Hereupon I hugged my dear widow under my arm, handed her into the coach, and away we jogged to a distant Boozing-Ken to conclude our amours, which had been so unhappily interrupted. I played the part of a gallant so well that night, that 'twas not in her power to have denied me her heart had I requested it; but I had the modesty and good conscience only to beg the favour of her to lend me seven guineas for a week, and I'd pay her as punctually as a gamester does a debt of honour. She opened her purse strings at the first word, and laid me down the money, saying, with a wanton leer, and a luscious buis, "Dear Jacky, you know I can
"deny you nothing."

Thus after a storm comes a calm, and safety after danger. In the morning I brushed home with my cash, and never thought of returning it any more from that day to this; for which act of ingratitude I hope God, the widow, and her son, will all forgive me.

The aforegoing Mrs. Worrall I was lawfully married to at Stepney church, and was that day put in possession, not only of her person, but likewise in money and plate to a considerable value, and we might to this day been very happy together if I had took her advice; but I was of a roving disposition, and of an unsettled mind, so that I took all opportunities to satisfy my own inclinations, although I knew it was contrary to an honest man, and in the end I thought it would drive me to the unhappy circumstances which I at this time lay under: it is some satisfaction to me before I depart this wicked world, to think that she is at this time in a way in which she may get a handsome competence to support her and hers; for I can speak it by fatal experience, necessity was the chief motive that made me turn out
again,

again, when, as I am a dying man, I had no thought ever to commit any robberies on the highway, if I could but have been once more put in any way to have got a livelihood.

A day or two before the dead warrant came down, I happened to see in the Press-Yard William Worrall, (the son of that unfortunate woman) as I sat in the Tap-House with one of my wives drinking, (God forgive me I had two or three) his mother being one, as I told you before, and this which I lived last with, I was married to at the Fleet, and one more which keeps a public-house in Drury-Lane, who I think is very unkind, for she never came to see me all the time of my confinement: But to return to the abovementioned person, I was resolved to be revenged on him if possible, for I could not forget how he came to the tavern with a case knife to kill me, and likewise the ill usage to his mother; I happened at that time to have a pen-knife in my pocket, and formed a resolution to have done his business, (for which God forgive me) but was prevented by my wife, who stood between him and me, and am glad now to the soul that I did not commit what I did design, which was murder.

There is one thing, however, which lies heavier on my conscience than falshood in love, and that is wilful perjury.

I had some time since entertained an implacable hatred against one Picket a Cooper, and to satiate my revenge, though the poor man I believe was entirely innocent of the fact laid to his charge, I swore it upon him, and appeared an evidence against him at the Old-Bailey, for which flagrant crime, I hope if he's living he will forgive me, and God too, for thirsting after innocent blood; and if dead, I sincerely rejoice that he did not fall a sacrifice to my unjust resentment.

I should

I should in my foregoing account have informed you what became of Richard Bird; the last robbery which he and I committed together was on two gentlemen as they were going to Chelmsford; some small time after that I was taken up, and what to do I did not know; at length I thought I had better hang twenty than be squeezed myself, for I knew I deserved it; so at last (with some reluctance) I impeached Richard Bird, and accordingly he was taken and committed to gaol, and afterwards carried down to Chelmsford, and I was carried there as a witness against him; but in going down I did my endeavour to make my escape, but was prevented by William Worrall, the forementioned person, who went about three months ago to stab me with a case knife, which I related before.

I was brought safe to Chelmsford gaol, where I appeared as an evidence against my companion Richard Bird, a Butcher, who was capitally convicted, and suffered accordingly; for which wicked act I have often reflected on myself for being an evidence. All my wicked actions which I have been guilty of to mankind I heartily ask pardon for, and I hope they will be such good Christians as to forgive me; I acknowledge myself to have been a very wicked liver for years past.

The following Robberies I committed some small Time before I was taken up.

ON E Saturday night I robbed a hackney coach, in which was only one woman, whom I treated, I think I may say, with abundance of good manners and humanity, for though she had but 8 s. and a pocket piece about her, I returned her 3 s. back again, as a valuable consideration for her pocket piece. It is possible I might have a good bargain enough, but my readers must acknowledge I might have had

it 3s. cheaper, had I had as little conscience as some of my brother professors.

I shewed the like complaisance to another hack that I stopped at Shoreditch, in which were two gentlewomen; they both quietly delivered me their purses, in one of which was about 6 or 7 s. in the other half a guinea, and 3 s. 6 d. After I had made this thorough examination, I wished them a good night, and gave them their green purses again. I advised them if they were coming kind, to make the next chapman pay double fees, and make themselves restitution, it would be but one robbery for another.

I made another attack about Pancras, where I furnished myself with a new watch, two pocket pieces, and about 13 s. in silver: the gentleman rid restive a little at first, but I soon brought him down, made him gentle as a lamb, and rode off triumphant. Since I have been under sentence he obliged me with a visit, and I, in gratitude for the favour, acquainted him that I had put the time of the day upon his watch, and if he would wait on an old usurious dog of a Broker in Monmouth-street, for a moderate premium he might have it again.

My next exploit was in Frog-Lane going to Hampstead; I there stopped two horsemen, who delivered me their watches, and about 20 s. These are all the robberies I committed since I left the Cock Ale-house; fatal necessity and not choice was the only motive to such dangerous as well as illegal attempts. I beg leave, in the last place, to do justice to my dear, loving and dutiful wife, and solemnly declare as I am now at the brink of Death, that she never was conscious of any of my ill practices, and ever did, and has done since my confinement behaved herself as the most indulgent of women.

The following Letter was sent by me to the Ladies whom I robbed, and for which Fact I am to suffer.

Madam,

I Crave leave with all humility and respect to address you and Madam Ellis, and with the utmost submission and concern, do humbly beg both your pardons for the fear and surprize my misfortunes reduced me to put you and the children into, whose cries moved so much compassion in me, that I had not power to pursue with any rigour my desperate design, which your ladyship must have perceived by the consternation I was struck into on a sudden. My sole intention was, if I could have got 50l. to settle myself in a public house, and to take up an honest course of life, and do own at best it is a very heinous crime: yet, madam, you will recollect after what manner I treated you, and at the same time consider the methods taken by others on the like occasions. This necessity I was drove to, by adhering to a certain master I lately served, and to obey his unlawful commands in following his wicked and pernicious counsels brought me to poverty, and consequently to this unhappy state I now labour under, and was become almost as much as himself the scorn and hatred of mankind. I say, Madam, if you will be so good as to consider all these unhappy circumstances, and that necessity admits of no contradiction, it will, I am persuaded, inspire compassion in generous souls (a character you both deservedly bear) and as a fellow creature, I beg mercy at your ladyship's hands, by signing a petition to the Recorder for me, to the end he may be induced to make a favourable report, and thereby move His most Sacred Majesty to clemency, by mitigating the sentence to some other corporal punishment, and shall dedicate the rest of my days in praying for both your hap-
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piness

pinels and prosperity in this world, and eternal felicity and blifs in that to come, and crave leave, with due defference and respect, Madam, to subscribe myself,

Your Ladyship's most devoted,

Afflicted Humble Servant,

JOHN EVERETT.

The following Letter I sent to Mr. Martin, (my Brother's Master) a Chair-Maker, the Corner of the Postern facing Grub-street.

Dear Sir,

I Beg the favour to know whether my brother is living or dead, for I have never heard from him, which is a barbarous vile action, to have two brothers and see none. I beg to-night when you pay him to stop something for me, and make him ashamed, if such a thing can be. Here I lie cast for my life, perishing in the cells for want of friends. Brothers! oh brothers! God forgive him and all the world. I hope you will pardon and excuse my boldness, it is necessity makes me send to him.

S I R,

From your unhappy,

From the Cells
in Newgate.

And misfortunate Friend,

JOHN EVERETT.

I return my most hearty and sincere thanks to that worthy and Reverend Divine, Mr. Nicholson, of St. Sepulchre's, who was so good as to come several times to pray by me, and the rest of my fellow
low

low sufferers in the cells, his discourse being edifying and so good, and well adapted to our unhappy circumstances, that it had such an effect as drew tears from some of us. If his Majesty, out of his wonted goodness, had pardoned me for transportation, I solemnly declare, I should rather chuse to be hanged than be transported.

I desire all persons who read this narrative, to take warning by my untimely end, and to take particular care to avoid bad company, especially the company of wicked strumpets, who bring many a man to an ignominious death, to support them in their vicious ways of life; for they often oblige many a brave fellow to *turn out*, although very much against their own inclinations.

I thought it proper to write my own life, lest the public should be imposed upon by narratives that might be altogether untrue, and the idle imaginations only of some members of the Grub-street society, and in justice to Mr. Applebee, I have here-under set my hand.

J. EVERETT.

He was executed at Tyburn on the 20th of February, 1729.

*The Trial of FRANCIS CHARTERIS, Esq. for
a Rape.*

DURING the sessions held at the Old Bailey on Wednesday, February 25, 1729—30, Counsellor Strange moved the court, that Colonel Francis Charteris might be permitted to surrender himself on the following day, to take his trial on an indictment preferred

preferred against him by Ann Bond, for committing a rape on her body.

This motion being granted, he surrendered accordingly, and took his trial, the particulars of which are as follow.

Francis Charteris, Esq. of the Parish of St. George, Hanover-Square, was indicted, for that he, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved by the instigation of the Devil, did, on the 10th of November, ravish, and carnally know Ann Bond, Spinster, against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, and against the statute in that case made and provided.

The prisoner pleaded Not Guilty; whereupon the council for the prosecutor opened the cause, observing, that though persons of levity affect to treat facts of this nature as venial transgressions, yet they had always been ranked among crimes of the most heinous nature, by all civilized, and even by barbarous nations.

The nature and manner of the offence being amply set forth, they supported the charge by the following evidence.

Ann Bond deposed, that being out of place, and having been ill, she happened to be sitting on a bench at her lodging, and a woman, whom she knew not, took occasion to enter into conversation with her, and asked her if she wanted a place, telling her she was very serviceable in helping servants to places; she replying, that she would willingly embrace a good service, she told her she could help her to a very good one, which was to one Colonel Harvey; that accordingly she went, and did not know for three days but that the prisoner's name was Harvey.

That for the first three days she was treated well; that he sent his footman with her, and he redeemed
some

some cloaths that she had been obliged to pawn; and he had also money, and orders given him to buy some linen, which, when she came home, the prisoner said she should have; but she refused to take it, saying, she had no occasion for it.

That after three days he began to solicit her to let him lie with her, offering her a purse of gold, telling her he would give her a great many fine cloaths, get her a good husband, would give her a house, he having a great many, if she would go to bed with him: that she told him she would take none of his money on any such account: that she came not thither for any such purpose; and that if she did not do his work to his mind, he might turn her away.

That afterwards she hearing one coming to the house, enquiring for Colonel Charteris, she spoke to the house-keeper, telling her, she thought her master's name had been Harvey; that she had heard a bad character of Colonel Charteris, and was not well, and must go away.

She added—when she offered to go away, he threatened her life, and she was kept in, and not permitted to go out of the house, the door being kept locked, and, if the clerk of the kitchen went out, the house-keeper or the butler had the key, so that she never could get out after the first three or four days.

The court asking, what time she went to live with the prisoner? she replied, about the 24th of October, and came away on the 10th of November.

She farther swore—That on the 10th of November, the Colonel rung a bell, and bid the clerk of the kitchen call the Lancashire Bitch into the dining-room. That she going in, he bid her stir the fire; while she was doing it, he locked the door, and took her and threw her down on the couch, which was
near

near the fire, in the further corner of the room, and forced her down with violence, and lay with her; that she strove what she could, and he took off his night-cap, and thrust it into her mouth, and then had carnal knowledge of her.

The court informing her that she must speak plain, and tell the naked truth, that the law required it; and, being asked, whether the prisoner had his cloaths on? she replied, he was in his night gown.——Being asked, whether she had not her petticoats on? she replied, yes; but he took them up, and held her down upon the couch.——Being asked, whether she was sure, and how she knew he had carnal knowledge of her? she replied, she was sure he had, and that he laid himself down upon her, and entered her body.——She was also asked, how it was afterwards? she replied, that there was a great deal of wet: that she afterwards told him, she would certainly prosecute him for the injury she had received from him, and take all lawful methods to do herself justice; that he endeavoured to pacify her with promises of a great many fine cloaths, &c. if she would hold her tongue, and say nothing about it; but she would accept of none of his offers. She added, that then he called her brimstone-bitch, and cursed and swore, and threatened he would beat her to death.

About one hour after he had lain with her, he took a horse-whip, and beat her very much; and also beat her with the great end of it; and no servants came till he opened the door, when the clerk of the kitchen came up, and he bid him take all she had, and turn the brimstone-bitch out of doors: that being got out of doors, she went to a gentlewoman, and made her complaint, and desired her to go with her to get her cloaths; and when they came and demanded them, he bid them turn the bitches out, and pretended she had robbed him of thirty guineas, and sometimes he said twenty.

The

The court asking if she complained of the Colonel's usage of her? she said, she did, to Mrs. Parsons, that very day, and she acquainted Mr. Bliss with it, and that she preferred the bill of indictment against the prisoner; that it was drawn, at first, for an assault, with an intent to ravish; and, that the foreman and jury, upon questions they put to her, said, it was not an intent, but it was fact, and so the indictment was altered.

The prisoner being informed, that now the prosecutrix had given her evidence against him, he was at liberty to ask her what questions he pleased; he put the following questions.

Prisoner. Did not you live at Cockeram?

Prosecutrix No.

Prisoner. Did you never see me in Lancashire, at Cockeram?

Prosecutrix. No.

Prisoner. Did not you bring me a letter?

Prosecutrix. No; I brought no letter.

Prisoner. If I don't prove it, I'll be hanged. Did not your sister live on my estate? did not you know the whole lordship was mine? to which she answered, No.

Prisoner. Did you never lie in bed with your master?

Prosecutrix. No: I was in the truckle-bed one night, when she who was my bed-fellow lay with you, and you called me to come to bed to you; you said, you Lancashire Bitch, come to bed to me, and lie on the other side of me, that I may lie in state; this was the fifth night; and I slept on my gown and went down stairs, and sat there all night; and I was told, you had ordered I should have no bed; I was not willing to lie there at all; but was told, you was ill, and I must; the servants had all sat up.

Prisoner. Did not you lie in the truckle-bed a nights?

Prosecutrix. I did lie four nights in the truckle-bed in the Colonel's room, with a maid.

Prisoner. Did you not bring my breeches, with fifty guineas, that day you said you was ravished? did not you lie, the night before your pretended ravishment, in the truckle-bed? did not you throw the snuff box, with a guinea, behind the grate, when you were called up? to most of which the prosecutor answered in the negative: adding, I was called up, and there were two gentlemen with you, and you said you had got a pretty Lancashire Bitch; and the gentlemen gave me each of them half a guinea.

Prisoner. Did you tell my servants that you had met with bad usage?

Prosecutrix. I complained to every servant, that I had bad usage.

Prisoner. What was the bad usage?

Prosecutrix. In being ravished and horse-whipped.

Prisoner. Did you not accept of a snuff-box?

Prosecutrix. That was given me the second day after I came; I said I did not want it, I would not have it; you said I should have it; keep it in your pocket, if it be lost, you shall be answerable for it.

Prisoner. Did you complain to a magistrate the very day you pretended to be ravished?

Prosecutrix. I applied to Mrs. Parsons, and she acquainted Mr. Bliss, and the Lord Chief Justice's warrant was taken out.

Prisoner. Did not you bring the chamber-pot, and hold it, and take my member out of my breeches.

Prosecutrix. No.

Prisoner. Did not you tell some of the family, that since I had so much silver, I should have my instrument tipped, for it would not please a woman?

Prosecutrix. No.

Then

Then Mary Parsons, an evidence for the prosecutrix, being called, was asked, When Ann Bond came to her, and made her complaint? she answered, it was on the 10th or 11th of November, she came to her in a very great surprize, said the Colonel had used her very ill, and that the same morning he had forced her against her inclination, and she was beat across the shoulders and back, and that he had taken all her cloaths, and the prisoner bid his servants turn the bitches out of doors.

Then this deponent told her she would take her to a gentleman who would do her justice, and this was Mr. Blifs. ——— Being asked, if she told her when she first came to her, that the Colonel had ravished her? Mrs. Parsons replied, she said, he lay with her against her inclination.

Mr. Blifs deposed, that about the 10th or 12th of November, to the best of his memory, the prosecutrix told him, she had lived with Colonel Charteris; that she thought she had gone to live with one Colonel Harvey; that he had treated her very handsomely for two or three days; that he sent a servant to fetch home some of her cloaths that she had pawned, and ordered him to buy some linen; that she refused to have it; that she had been whipped both before the rape and after it; that the Colonel pretended to be very ill, and she was ordered to lie in a truckle-bed in his chamber, and was constrained to lie there. That the fifth night, he called her Lancashire Bitch; that she kept her petticoats on; that about two o'clock he called her up, and horse-whipped her, telling her, she should obey his commands, that was what she deserved, and must expect. That, on the 17th day of her being there, she was called up, when the Colonel locked the door, forced her to the remotest part of the room, threw her down on the couch, and forced her body; that she cried out as loud as she could, and he took his night-cap, and thrust

it into her mouth, and had carnal knowledge of her body.

That she asked him, (this deponent) if she had not best apply to a justice: that he told her, the quarter-sessions was near, and he thought that would be the best way; and, when she came to the Grand Jury, they told her, that this was not an intent, but the fact; and the Foreman of the Grand Jury ordered two others to go to Mr. Lindon, and the indictment was drawn accordingly; and one of the Grand Jury said, the Colonel had attempted his sister; that they went to get a certificate, but could not get it that night; that he told one Mr. Harrison of it, and (as this deponent was informed) he acquainted the Colonel, and the Colonel went out of town the next morning.

The next evidence was Sarah Colley, who deposed, that she washed for one of the prisoner's servants, and he seeing her, asked her, if she knew of any likely country girls, that she could send for to town? but not to mention his name, and that he ordered her to go to the Crown and Wheatsheaf on Ludgate-Hill, and to bring one Mrs. Betty to him, (but not to mention his name) and he would give her a guinea.

The witnesses on the part of the prosecution being all examined, the prisoner's evidences were called.

Mr. Gordon being asked, what he knew about the bringing of a letter? answered, That Ann Bond came, and said, she had sent in a letter to his honour, and waited for an answer; that he (this evidence) came into the parlour, when Mr. Irving was reading the letter.

The prisoner asking Gordon what he knew more of Ann Bond; he replied, " You rose very early the
" morning she went away, she brought you your
" breeches, and held them while you put your legs
" into

“ into them. This was about two o'clock in the morning.”

Quest. Where was this?

Answ. The Colonel was sitting in the parlour, they brought some tea, and the Colonel went to bed again; about four, he rose again, and went out about six, and came home again at ten.

Quest. What colour were the breeches that Ann Bond brought?

Answ. I think they were brown cloth breeches, and then the Colonel missed his money. I was ordered to bring up the woman that had lain with him that night; he went to call Mrs. Bond, but she did not follow him, but ran to the house of office, he followed her, she did not stay there to do any thing, no longer than she could go to it, and come back again; then she ran to the bed-chamber, and was doing something under the fire, and he looked under the fire-grate, and found a little steel box, with a guinea in it.

Pris. Were not several of my servants in the outer hall?

Gordon. I think it was about ten o'clock when the Colonel called for Mrs. Bond, and challenged her with the money; and I saw her about two or three o'clock in the morning come out of the room, and bring the Colonel's breeches with her, and she was in the room, and helped to dress him; Mrs. Bond went away about two o'clock in the afternoon; and was well pleas'd, 'till he challenged her with taking the money.

Quest. Where did Ann Bond lie?

Answ. She lay in the truckle bed all the time she lived with you, and Mary White lay with her only two nights.

Quest. What did she say about her treatment?

Answ. She said, you were very kind; but since you were a man of money, you should have your instrument

instrument silvered, for it was not able to please a woman.

Quest. Where did she say this?

Ans. In the kitchen among all the men and women servants, and they laughed at it.

Prisoner. Where were you from the time I got up, 'till I went out?

Gordon. In the hall upon the same floor with the rest of the servants.

Pris. Did you hear any noise?

Gordon. No.

Mr. Irving deposed, That the Sunday before his majesty's birth-day, he was with the Colonel, and his servant brought in a letter, and said, it came from a woman; the Colonel bid him open it, and read it, he believed it came from a whore, and he made no secret of those matters; that the Colonel bid the woman be called in, and Mrs. Bond came in, in a riding-hood, and the Colonel called for tea, and asked her when she came out of the country; that she replied, about three weeks ago. That he was desired to step out, and was called in again, and she was sitting in the chair, where he left her; and another gentleman coming in, the Colonel said, Nanny, go down into the kitchen among the servants, and when I want you, I will call for you; that the Colonel said, he knew her at Cockram, that she pretended to be a very modest girl, but one of the servants, where she had lived, had lain with her.

The prosecutrix being asked, whether Mr. Irving was in the room, when she went to the Colonel's to be hired; she replied, No, he was not in the room.

Mr. Irving was then asked whether he heard any discourse between the prosecutrix and the prisoner, about the letter: he answered, No.

The

The prosecutrix was asked, concerning her bringing a letter to the Colonel's, and denied that she sent or brought any letter.

John Gourley, one of the prisoner's servants, deposed, That he was in the room with his master, and Mr. Irving, when a servant brought a letter, and he went down, and Ann Bond was standing at the door, and she said to him, I know you very well, I have seen you at my sister's house at Cockeram.

Being asked what day this was on, he answered it was on Sunday, a little before the King's birth-day; and that the next day he went out with her, with money to fetch her cloaths out of pawn, and he asked her about several persons in the country; that he did this, for fear she was a bite, but he found that she knew them.

This evidence being asked, where the prosecutor lay; said, that she lay every night in his master's room, that his master used to bid him send the girl in, that she might not disturb him; that there was a great harmony betwixt them, and she commended her master for his kindness to her.

The prosecutrix being asked, whether she came to the Colonel on a Sunday; she replied, No, it was on a Monday.

The letter being shewn to Gourley, he was asked, if he knew any thing of that letter; he answered, Yes. That it lay open upon the table, and that he took it up, and read it, and put it in his pocket, and put it out of his pocket among some other papers, when he was going to Flanders, some days after.

The letter being shewn to Irving, he was asked, if that was the letter he read at the Colonel's; he answered, He did believe it to be the same letter; and, pointing to the prosecutrix, said, This is the woman that was brought in by the servant, upon reading the letter: then the prosecutrix being asked, Whether Mr. Irving was present, when she came to the Colonel's first; she said, No.

Then

Then being asked, if she knew him ; she said, Yes ; I have seen him frequently.

The letter being shewn to Ann Bond, she was asked, if she did not bring that letter to the Colonel's ? she answered, No ; she looked upon it some time, and said, she could not read it : and being asked, if she could write ? answered, Yes, a little ; and being bid to write, took the writer's pen, and wrote her name ; but the hands were not a-like. But it being sworn, by Mr. Irving and Mr. Gourley, that the letter was brought by her, it was read, and is as follows :

Hon. Sir,

I Understand you are in town, if your honour pleases, I should be glad to wait on you : I came from Cockeram, in Lancashire ; I came the next door to Mr. Jones, and should be proud to wait on you, if your honour pleases to give me that liberty : pray pardon this freedom. I am, with submission, and the greatest respect, your humble servant to command,

Ann Bond.

I wait at your Door for an Answer.

Wednesday night,
Three o'clock.

James Davis being called, the prisoner desired he might be asked, whether he had not seen the prosecutor in the naked bed with him ? he replied, Yes, and that she lay every night in his master's room ; he being asked, when he came to live with the prisoner, said, on the 4th of November, and that he had seen her in the naked bed with his master ; and that he afterwards asking her, if she was not ashamed to lie with her master, she replied, No ; she was not ashamed of it, for it was what she was used to.

Davis

Davis being asked, what time it was that he had seen the prosecutrix in bed with his master; he answered, it was the next morning after he came there: and being asked, how he came to see it, he answered, that hearing the bell ring, he opened the door, without knocking, and went in, and saw her in bed with him; he being asked, what business he had to go into his master's chamber, without knocking, and being but just come, was a stranger; and whether, or not, it was not saucy and impudent in him to do so: after some pause, he replied, he had a mind to lie with her himself, and having heard that his master loved a pretty girl, he suspected she lay with him, and so he took that opportunity to satisfy himself.

Hannah Lipscombe being called, the prisoner desired, that she might be asked, how often she had seen the prosecutrix in bed with him: she answered, that the first night she lay in the truckle-bed, and the second she lay with her master. Being asked, how she knew it? she answered, she saw her in bed with her master, in the morning, when she came to light the fire. It was also desired, that this evidence might be asked, what the prosecutrix had said, concerning the prisoner's private member? she replied, that she said, that his member was worn out, and since he had so much silver, it ought to be tipped. This evidence being asked, if she knew what lying in state was? she declining to answer, was pressed to it, upon which, she replied, that she had indeed heard from vulgar people, that it was for a man to lie with three women at once.

Robert Vaux deposed, That on the first of November, Colonel Charteris's Groom came to him, to come to his master at five o'clock in the morning; that he went to the Colonel's chamber, and Ann Bond was in bed with him, that the servant opening the door, he went in, and she turning aside the bed-cloaths, put her legs out of the bed, came out in her shift,

took up her cloaths under her arm, and dropping him a curtesy as she passed by, went into another room to dress her.

He said farther, that he was at the Colonel's several times, and she was very familiar with him, and that he asked her, how she liked him; and she answered, that her master was very kind to her; that he asked her concerning his performance, and she said, upon her word, he was incapable to serve a woman. Being asked by the Council, what he was; he answered, he was a Sadler, and had made the Colonel some saddles. He was likewise asked, what urgent business it was, that should bring him there, to disturb a gentleman so early in the morning; he replied, that one of the Colonel's horses had broke his halter; upon which, he was asked, if he could not have fitted his horse with a halter, without disturbing the Colonel himself; to which he replied, the Colonel had often struck out articles in his bill, for want of verbal orders.

Thomas Cooper deposed, that he had been in Flanders, and upon his arrival at Dover, a message came to him, to come to the Colonel, upon which he rode post, and came to the Colonel's house, and lay there, and being called up in the morning by his servants, he went into the Colonel's bed-chamber, and there he saw the prosecutrix sitting upright in the bed, with her petticoats about her; and he withdrew, that she might dress herself. He being asked, what time this was; he replied, that it was on a Thursday. Being asked, what Thursday; he said, in October, he could not be exact as to the day of the month, without he had his journal; but he knew that he came from Flanders the beginning of October, the first or second, and that he was about twelve hours in his passage to Dover; that the message came to him on Tuesday; that on Wednesday he arrived in London, lay at the Colonel's, and the next morning

ing, which was Thursday, he saw the prosecutrix in bed with the Colonel.

The council for the prosecutrix observed, that he, this evidence, swore to eighteen or nineteen days before she came to the Colonel's house; being asked, if he was certain as to the time; he then replied, no, he did not know what questions he should be asked, had not brought his journal, and therefore could not be certain as to the time.

Mary White deposed, the morning that Mrs. Bond went away, she brought the Colonel's breeches to him about two of the clock; that the Colonel went out about six, and returned about ten, and missed his money; and then ordered Mr. Gordon to call up Ann Bond, and said, that it must be either herself (this evidence) or she, that took it, there being no body else in the room, and desired Ann Bond to own it, telling her, that if she would, he would not send word down into the country; that she said, she could not own what she knew nothing of; and the Colonel ordered her cloaths to be kept, and herself to be turned out of doors: being asked, what time the Colonel said he missed his money; she said, she believed he said, it was between eight and nine o'clock; being asked where she was from the time the Colonel got up, to the time he went out; she said, in the hall upon the same floor. Being also asked, if she heard the prosecutrix cry out; she answered, No. Being asked, what colour the Colonel's breeches were, that Ann Bond was said to bring to him; she answered, she thought that they were black.

Mr. Hambleton deposed, that he came to the Colonel's to put up some curtains (he being an Upholder) that this was about nine o'clock, and the Colonel said, he missed some money; that he had fifty guineas in his pocket last night, and he had lost twenty of them, and bid Mr. Gordon call all the ser-

van's up, and that he (this evidence) saw two shillings lying upon the couch.

Ann Bond, the prosecutrix, now called the following persons to her character, the first of whom was Mr. Bell, who deposed, that she had lived with him about a year, and, during that time, behaved herself very honestly and very modestly, and that he thought her as honest, modest a young woman, as ever came into a family; that she came to him the beginning of July, 1727, and also, that she behaved herself very religiously, and when at any time she could not go to church, she was always reading some good book.

Mrs. Bell deposed, that she knew the prosecutrix in the country, and had brought her out of Lancashire from her friends, and that she was always very modest, and honest; that she never perceived the least immodesty in her conduct, and she did believe her to be a very honest, modest girl; and being asked, if she thought she would forswear herself, to take a man's life away; she answered, No.

Mr. Harwood deposed, that she lived with him at Clapham, nine months, and behaved very well during that time; and the reason she went from him was, because she could not bear the rudeness of some watermen: that she behaved herself very modestly and soberly, and kept her church very constantly, and he did believe her to be a very modest, sober young woman, that would by no means forswear herself, to take away any man's life: that she went from him to one Mr. Allen's, and there also behaved herself very modestly and honestly, and he believed he would have been present in court had he not been hindered by illness; she came from thence not for any misbehaviour, but by reason of other matters that were not agreeable to her.

The jury, after a full hearing, went out, and brought in their verdict guilty, Death: but by the interposition

interposition of the Earl of Wemys, and other friends, a pardon was obtained, the Colonel having first made a handsome settlement on Ann Bond, for her life.

Soon after this, there was published a fine Met-zotinto print of Colonel Francisco, standing in the bar, with his thumbs tied, and under the picture the following lines.

Blood!—must a Colonel, with a lord's estate,
Be thus obnoxious to a scoundrel's fate?
Brought to the bar, and sentenc'd from the bench,
Only for ravishing a country wench?—
Shall men of honour meet no more respect?
Shall their diversions thus by laws be check'd?
Shall they be accountable to saucy juries
For this or t'other pleasure?—hell and furies!
What man thro' villainy would run a course,
And ruin families without remorse,
To heap up riches.—If, when all is done,
An ignominious death he cannot shun?

The following paragraph appeared in the newspapers:

Edinburgh, February 29, 1731—2. “On the
“24th died Col. Francis Charteris, of Amsfield, Esq.
“in his 57th year; descended from an ancient and
“honourable family in this county. He married Mrs.
“Helen Swinton, daughter of Sir Alexander Swinton,
“by whom he had one daughter, married to the
“Rt. Hon. the Earl of Wemys, to whose second
“son he has left the bulk of his plentiful estate, and
“great portions to all the other children; with several legacies to friends and relations.”

A little time after this news, the following Epitaph was published in several public papers.

E P I T A P H.

E P I T A P H.

HERE lieth the body of Colonel
DON FRANCISCO;

Who with an inflexible constancy,
And inimitable uniformity of life,
Persisted, in spite of age and infirmity,
In the practice of every human vice,
Excepting prodigality and hypocrisy;

His satiable avarice
Exempting him from the first,
And his matchless impudence
From the latter.

Nor was he more singular
In that undeviating viciousness of life,
Than successful in accumulating wealth;

Having
Without trust of public money, bribe,
Worth, service, trade or profession,
Acquired, or rather created
A ministerial estate.

Among the singularities of his life and fortune

Be it likewise commemorated,
That he was the only person in his time
Who would cheat without the mask of honesty;

Who could retain his primæval meanness
After being possessed of 10,000 pounds a year:
And who, having done, every day of his life,

Something worthy of a gibbet,
Was once condemned to one
For what he had not done.

Think not, indignant reader
His life useless to mankind:

P R O V I D E N C E

Favoured, or rather connived at,
His execrable designs,

That

That he might remain
 To this and future ages,
 A conspicuous proof and example
 Of how small estimation
 Exorbitant wealth is held in the sight
 Of the A L M I G H T Y,
 By his bestowing it on
 The most unworthy
 Of all the descendants
 Of Adam.

*Account of the Trial of JOHN DAVIS, who was
 condemned for Robberies and Murder; with
 some particulars of his life.*

AT the sessions held at the Old Bailey in the month of July, 1731, *John Davis* of St. Mary, Islington, was indicted for assaulting William Walker, Esq. in a field or open place near the King's highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him a coat, a waistcoat, a pair of breeches, a hat, a wig, a sword, and nine-pence halfpenny in money, on the 10th of July, 1703.

He was a second time indicted for the murder of Thomas Tickford, by discharging a pistol loaded with powder and bullets, and thereby giving him one mortal wound in the head, of the length of half an inch, and depth of three inches, on the 17th of July, 1730.

He was indicted a third time for assaulting Henry Tickford on the highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him a handkerchief, a hat, a mourning hat-band, a pair of gloves, and nineteen pence in money, on the 17th of July, 1730.

On the first Indictment.

William Walker, Esq. deposed, that on the 10th of July in the preceeding year, about ten o'clock at night, as himself and Mr. Edwards, a painter, were passing along between Islington and Old-street Church, this deponent observed the prisoner and another man coming from behind a house.

They passed by this deponent, and both of them attacked Mr. Edwards: the prisoner being on the London side of Edwards, and the other man beyond him, this deponent turned back to assist his companion, and drawing his sword, made a pass at the prisoner's partner, and, he believed, ran him through the body and killed him.

What confirmed Mr. Walker in this opinion was, that not long afterwards, an advertisement was published, desiring such a person to return to his own habitation, to take off the scandal that had been cast upon him, on account of his not appearing. But however that was, he fell into a ditch, and pulled Mr. Walker upon him, and gave him several wounds with an instrument, but he knew not what it was. The prisoner seeing his partner in distress, left Edwards and attacked Mr. Walker, upon which Edwards ran away. The prisoner at last over-powered him, beat him, and bruised him very much, and bid him deliver his sword; but he gave it a throw as far as he could into the grass.

Then the prisoner stripped him, and, saying that he had money in his shoes, he pulled them off, but finding none, he threw them away, and then left him. Mr. Walker made shift to get to Islington, where he lay three months before he recovered of the wounds and bruises he had received.

The court asking Mr. Walker if he was sure that the prisoner was the person who robbed him; he replied

replied “ Yes, and I have many times affirmed,
 “ that I should know both him and his partner, if
 “ I should see them again. I have been in quest
 “ of the prisoner ever since I recovered of my
 “ wounds : I have searched for him several times in
 “ all the prisons in London. And hearing at last,
 “ that such a man was taken into custody for steal-
 “ ing a cask of small beer, I went to see him, and at
 “ first sight I affirmed that he was the man. Besides,
 “ upon his being apprehended, he attempted to
 “ make himself an evidence, and had put this rob-
 “ bery into his information, pretending that one Na-
 “ thaniel Gravett was concerned with him in it ; but
 “ I have seen Gravett, and am sure that he was not
 “ the man, who was with the prisoner when I was
 “ robbed.”

Joseph Staton deposed, that he went with Mr. Walker to see the prisoner in goal. He asked the prisoner if he should know the gentleman he had robbed, at such a time at Islington ? he said he believed he should ; and going to the prosecutor, who was then among several men, declared, that he believed him to be the person, he being of the same size, and very like him.

The jury found the prisoner guilty: Death.

On the second and third Indictments.

Henry Tickford deposed, that on the 17th of July last, about eleven o'clock at night, he and his brother Thomas Tickford, (the deceased) having been at the funeral of one of their brothers, they were returning from Hendon, and coming towards London. At the end of Fig-Lane a man stood behind a post, and coming from thence to this deponent's brother, bid him stand and deliver ; and then cried Hip ! upon which the prisoner came out of a ditch.

This deponent's brother retreating, bid them keep off; on which they both fired together. There was likewise another person came out of the ditch on the signal being given.

This witness's brother being shot in the forehead and cheek, fell down immediately, and never spoke a word more, though he lived thirty three hours after he was shot.

They threw this deponent on his back, to search for his money; unbuttoned his coat, made him pull it off, and asked him what money his brother had; to which he answered that he could not tell. The prisoner then took this deponent's wig, and looked at it by the light of the moon. One of them was for killing him also, but he begged for his life, and said it was very hard that one brother had been killed in returning from the funeral of another, and that the third must be killed too. At length the prisoner said, "No, leave him alive, to bury the old "rogue his brother."

Mary Tickford deposed, that the deceased was brought home about two o'clock in the morning, in a miserable condition, wounded in the forehead and the cheek.

Mr. Hawkins, a Surgeon, deposed, that about two o'clock in the morning he was called to the deceased, and saw that his wounds were mortal; and afterwards, on opening the head, he found that one bullet had gone quite through his cheek, and the other was lodged in one of the coats of the brain.

Sarah Carter deposed, that the prisoner owned he was present at the robbery and murder, but said he was not the person who shot the deceased.

Jonathan Broadhurst deposed, that he heard the prisoner acknowledge his being concerned in the robbery, and that he had the prosecutor's hat, gloves, handkerchief and money.

The jury found the prisoner guilty of both the indictments, in consequence of which he received sentence of death.

The prisoner was a fourth time indicted for stealing a cask of small-beer, value 4s. 6d. the goods of John Brown, on the 1st of June, 1731.

The prisoner was apprehended for this fact, and being carried before Justice Dennet, he made an information of the murder and robberies mentioned above, in hopes of being admitted an evidence; but he found himself disappointed. And being now convicted of these capital offences, the court thought it unnecessary to try him for the single felony of stealing small-beer.

The Ordinary of Newgate's Account of John Davis is as follows.

JOHN Davis, about twenty nine years of age, of honest, but mean parents, was born at Portsmouth, from whence they removed to London, and his father died and left him young: his mother was a careful industrious woman, and did what she could for the keeping of six young children. She put John to school, but he was a cross perverse boy, disobedient to his mother, would not keep to school, and knew but little of religion, and other things. He went of errands, and did any little thing he could towards getting his bread, till a person, seeing him a strong big boy, was willing to take him, and would have bred him a Mason; but he was not willing to apply, so as to make himself master of his business, yet he, being of a robust constitution, his master, the Mason, employed him in sawing of stones, by which employment he got money, and wanted nothing; and then he married a wife, whom he left with three poor young children.

When he was wearied with Stone-sawing, he served Brewers, and learned to brew small beer. In this he succeeded better, and made fifty pounds a year; but getting into idle company, he one night in a drunken fit enlisted himself in the second regiment of guards; but repenting of this action when he came to himself, he absented from the regiment, would not wear the regimentals, and never learned the exercise; but being liable to be taken up for a deserter, he was obliged to hide himself, and when he went abroad to go in a constant disguise.

He followed the brewing of small beer, till his neighbour R——d J——s advised him to give over that nasty, flavish trade——and go and buy pistols, for raising of contributions on the highway. Accordingly they went into Holborn, and purchased two pistols and a half blunderbuss, which was all the arms he ever used on the highway; although Jo——s carried along with him a long sharp knife, and sometimes a dagger.

Davis made a little scruple of engaging in such dangerous exploits, but J——s told him, there was no such great danger; that it was needless for them to work so hard for their bread, when they might get money enough for being at the pains to walk out a little.—Davis was easily persuaded to what he was not averse to: so they kept together, went out upon their expeditions, and, for three or four years lived upon their purchase on the highway, and were constantly busied in doing mischief, and, like the Devil, went about, seeking whom they might devour.

Davis committed the robbery near Pancras; but he said, it was his partner who murdered Thomas Tickford; for he added, that J——s was a cruel, bloody fellow, and set no value upon a man's life: but he was always angry with him for his barbarous disposition:

disposition: and though the law supposed him guilty of the murder, because present when it happened, yet he thought himself innocent, because he never had any such intention.

I told him, though his not actually committing the crime, might extenuate the guilt, yet he could not be thought innocent, as having gone upon a design of violently attacking people, in order to rob them, which, in case of opposition, is often attended with murder; and that he, as he owned, abetted and succoured this murderer, which made him guilty: therefore I exhorted him not to deceive himself with a thought of innocence; but particularly to repent of the sin of murder.

When he received sentence, he said, Yates and his companions knew that he did not do the murder. Yates said he was upon the same road, and upon the same design; but that they knew nothing of one another's company, and they were at a great distance, and he in no wise knew by whom the murder was committed.

He likewise acknowledged, that he assisted at the robbery of Mr. Walker, in the field between Old-street Church and Islington, where they treated the gentleman most inhumanly, having given him several wounds in the breast, after he had made a brave defence, when a man, who was in his company, run away. Mr. Walker having rescued him from them; but they becoming master both of himself and his sword, they barbarously stript and left him naked, and greatly wounded, though it pleased God that he recovered.

With regard to two robberies committed upon the 28th of January, 1730, when a peruke, value 20 s. a guinea and two or three shillings, were taken from one; a watch, two guineas, and 17 s. were taken from another gentleman, for which robberies Frances Hackabout was executed on Friday, the 17th of April,

April, 1730: both these robberies Davis said he committed, and that Hackabout knew nothing of them.

Davis begged forgiveness of God, for bringing another to an untimely end, by his villanies. He with his companion J——s robbed a waggon near Marybone, about a year ago, of several parcels of valuable goods, such as silks, &c. A highwayman on horseback had first stoppt the waggon, and he pleaded hard for a share of the plunder, saying, “I am very poor, and I hope brethren you’ll pity me.” “No,” replied they, “Brother of the trade, there is nothing due to you, for such goods as these belong not to your way of business.” After a tedious importunity, they threw two fowls to him, and bid him, “Go and cram his hungry guts with those.”

I asked him, what number of robberies he had committed. He said, he kept no Calendar; but he very ingenuously told me some of the most remarkable, and that the rest of them were very numerous, far above his memory, he having no way of living for some years past, but by thieving or robbing.

His conscience often checked him; and when his friends told him what would be the end of his loose, idle life, he made vows of an amendment, but never had the virtue or grace to perform them. He threatened sometimes to make away with himself, out of despair; but when he met with his companions again, he continued his profession without fear or remorse.

He wept and groaned much, and seemed very penitent. He behaved well, and acknowledged his sentence most just. He declared his faith in Christ, that he sincerely repented of all sins, and died in peace with all men.

At the place of execution Davis said, that it was not he that stabbed the gentleman, and scuffled with him in the fields near Islington—He desired also, that the world might be acquainted, that he committed
ted



*The Apprehending of Sarah Malcombe for the
Murder of M^{rs} Duncomb, and her Maids.*

ted the highway robbery, for which one Walker was blamed, and that Walker was altogether innocent thereof.

Davis was hanged at Tyburn, on Monday the 26th of July, 1731.

Account of the Trial, Behaviour, and Confession of SARAH MALCOLM, who was executed for Murder.

THERE are so many questions and replies in the course of the following extraordinary Trial, that it will be impossible to give it in the form of a narrative, and at the same time render it intelligible—We shall therefore print it in the form of a Trial, from the most authentic account extant, and subjoin such particulars of the inhuman culprit as we have been able to collect.

Sarah Malcolm was indicted for the murder of Ann Price, spinster, by wilfully and maliciously giving her with a knife one mortal wound on the throat, of the length of two inches, and the depth of one inch, on the 4th of Feb. 1733, of which wound she instantly died.

She was a second time indicted for the murder of Elizabeth Harrison, spinster, by strangling and choaking her with a cord, on the said 4th of Feb. of which she instantly died.

She was a third time indicted for the murder of Lydia Duncomb, widow, by strangling and choaking her with a cord, on the said 4th of Feb. of which she instantly died.

She was again indicted for breaking and entering the dwelling-house of Lydia Duncomb, widow, and stealing 20 moidores, 18 guineas, one broad piece, value

value 25 s. four broad pieces, value 23 s. each, one half broad piece, value 11 s. 6 d. 25 shillings in silver, a silver tankard, value 40 s. a canvas bag, value 1 s. and two smocks, value 12 s. on the said 4th of Feb. about the hour of two in the morning of the same day.

To all which indictments she pleaded, Not Guilty.

The counsel, having opened the indictment, called the following witnesses.

John Kerrel. The prisoner has been my laundress about a quarter of a year. She was recommended to me as an honest woman, by a gentleman in the Temple. On Sunday the 4th of this month, as I returned from commons, I met Mr. Gehagan, and going with him through Tanfield-court, we found a mob there, and enquiring what was the matter, we were told of the murders that had been committed. Says Mr. Gehagan, "this Mrs. Duncomb was your Sarah's (the prisoner's) acquaintance." We went forward to the coffee-house in Covent-garden; there we heard several discoursing about these murders, and it was the general opinion, that they must have been committed by some laundress, who was acquainted with the chambers. From thence we went to the Horse-shoe and Magpye in Essex-street, where we staid till one in the morning, and then returned home. I found my door open, and the prisoner in the room. "So, Sarah," says I, "are you here at this time of the morning? you knew Mrs. Duncomb; have you heard of any body that is taken up for the murder? No," said she, "but a gentleman who had chambers under her, has been absent two or three days, and he is suspected." Says I, "nobody that was acquainted with Mrs. Duncomb shall be here, till the murderer is found out; and therefore look up your things and get away." In the mean time Mr. Gehagan went down to call the watch, but he could not find the door readily, and so

so he came up again, and I went down to call two watchmen, and brought them up, and I found her turning over some linen in my drawers. I asked her who it belonged to? she said it was her own. I went into the closet, and missing my waistcoats, I asked her what she had done with them? she called me aside, and said she had pawned them at Mr. Williams's, in Drury-lane, for two guineas, and prayed me not to be angry. I told her I was not so angry on that account, but I suspected she was concerned in the murder. The next thing I took notice of was a bundle lying on the ground. I asked her what it was? she said, "it was her gown." And what's in it? says I "why, linen," says she, "that is not proper for men to see;" and so I did not offer to open it. I searched farther, and missed several things of my own, and found other things that did not belong to me, and then I charged the watch with her, and bid them take her away, and take care of her. When she was gone I found another bundle in my bed-chamber; upon this I called to Mr. Gehagan and shewed it him; whereupon we resolved to make a thorough search, and so I looked in the close-stool, where we found some more linen, and a pint silver tankard, with a bloody handle. We then went to one of the watchmen again, and, he said, he had let her go, upon her promising to come again at ten o'clock in the morning. I bid him find her out by all means. He hipped to his brother watchman at the gate, and they went and brought her to me. I shewed her the bloody tankard and linen, and asked her if they were hers? she said, yes, they were left her by her mother. I asked her, how the handle of the tankard came to be bloody? she said she had cut her finger; and as for the linen, she said, it was not blood upon it, but a disorder.

Council. What kind of linen was it? did you open the bundle?

Kerrel. I opened that which I found in my bed-chamber ; but my confusion was so great, that I do not know whether it was shifts or aprons. She told me the tankard had been in pawn, and that she had pawned my waistcoats to redeem it. The watchman carried her to the watch-house, and there they found a green silk purse, with twenty one counters, in her bosom.

Court. Are you positive that she owned the tankard and linen to be hers ?

Kerrel. Yes ; but the linen in her gown was left unopened, till after she was sent to the watch-house.

Prisoner. Was the linen you found in the close-stool bloody ?

Kerrel. I am not sure whether it was that, or the linen that was found under my bed that was bloody, for I was very much surprized, and I brought one parcel down, and Mr. Gehagan brought another, and we threw them down in the watchman's box, and so they were mixed together.

Court. Shew the tankard to the jury, and unseal the linen, and let them see that too, and the other things.

Kerrel. This is the green silk purse that was found upon her in the watch-house ; she said she found it in the street ; but somebody taking notice it was clean, she said she had washed it since. This is the gown that some of the linen was wrapped in, and this is the bloody apron that was found under my bed, and which, she said, was not bloody, but marks of a disorder.

Prisoner. Was the linen wet or dry ?

Kerrel. I cannot say which, but it was bloody.

Prisoner. Did you take it up ?

Kerrel. I took up that under the bed, and in the close-stool. The clean linen that was in the drawers she took out herself, and the watchman afterwards fetched away that which was in the gown.

Prisoner.

Prisoner. Was the gown bloody, or the shift bloody in the sleeves or bosom, or any where but in the lower part?

Kerrel. I cannot say.

Court. Is the shift here?

Kerrel. Yes.

Court. Produce it then, and let somebody look on it.

Ann Oliphant, looking on it—I think here is a little blood on the upper part of the bosom.

Prisoner. Upon your oath, is it blood or a stain?

Ann Oliphant. I cannot be positive; but it seems like the rest.

Prisoner to Mr. Kerrel. Did you suspect me on account of finding me in your chambers so late on Sunday night, or was it because you saw me counting money there on Sunday morning?

Kerrel. I saw no money that you had on Sunday morning. I suspected nothing of you, till I found you so late in my chambers.

Prisoner. Swear him if he did not see me counting money in the morning, or if he did not count it after me.

Kerrel. No, I did not.

Prisoner. Did not you count 90l. in your own bed after me?

Kerrel. No, I say, I know nothing of it. If you had so much money you might have fetched my things out of pawn.

Prisoner. What! did you not reckon how many broad-pieces and moidores, and how much silver there was?

Kerrel. No; if I had, I should have suspected you afterwards; but I had not then heard of the murder, for it was not known till two in the afternoon, and after I had heard it I went to the coffee-house, and did not return home till one o'clock on Monday morning. If I had seen you have so much

money on Sunday morning, I should have had such a suspicion of you, when I first heard of the murder, that I should have come home directly.

Prisoner. It is hard, that he will deny upon his oath, what he did with his own hands.

Court. What time in the morning was this?

Prisoner. About nine o'clock; and he asked me where I had it? and I told him, from some relations in the country.

Court. What time did she come to your chambers?

Kerrel. About nine in the morning: I sent her for some tea. Mr. Gehagan breakfasted with me, and she staid till about ten o'clock, when the horn sounded for commons.

Council. There was, you say, clean linen taken out of the drawers: was there any blood upon it?

Kerrel. No, I should have seized her presently, if I had found any blood before she went away first.

Council. Did she own that clean linen to be hers too?

Kerrel. Yes.

John Gehagan. I have chambers over the Alienation Office, three pair of stairs high. Mine are on the left hand, and Mr. Kerrel's on the right; we are very intimate together. On Sunday morning, the 4th of February, I rose about eight o'clock, and saw Mr. Kerrel's door shut. About nine, the prisoner came up and opened his door, and went in, and it was not ten minutes before he came to my bed-side, and, says he, "you was a good advocate for me last night, and I will give you a breakfast." He gave her a shilling to fetch some tea; she made it, and staid till the horn blew for commons. And after commons, he and I went out together. Going through Tanfield-Court, we found a mob there, and seeing Mr. Clark, a writer, we asked what was the matter? he told us of the murder, and said to Mr. Kerrel, this is your laundress's acquaintance. We
went

went to a coffee-house in Covent-Garden, where some gentlemen, talking about the murder, said, they should suspect some of the laundresses. We staid there till eight, and then went to the Horse-shoe and Magpye in Effex-street, where we staid till one in the morning, and then going home, we found his door open, a fire and candle in the room, and the prisoner standing by the fire-side. Says Mr. Kerrel, " Sarah, this Mrs. Duncomb was one of your acquaintance, have you heard of any body's being taken up for the murder?" she said, that one Mr. Knight, who had chambers under Mrs. Duncomb's, was suspected. " Well," says Mr. Kerrel, " I'll have nobody stay in my room, that was acquainted with Mrs. Duncomb." I went down to call the watch, but there being a double door to the Alienation Office, I fumbled, and could not get it open, so he came down and brought the watch up. He missed his waistcoats, and asked where they were? she desired him to let her speak a word with him in private: he said, " No, I have no business with you that needs to be made a secret of." Then she told him they were pawned. He kicked a bundle that lay in the closet, and asked her what it was? she said, it was an old gown of hers, with a shift and apron in it; but it was a very indecent sight for a man to see, and therefore desired him not to look into it, and so he put it aside again. Then the watch took her down, and when she was gone he looked under his bed, and found another bundle. " Zounds," says he, " here's another bundle of linen that this bitch has left behind her;" and looking farther, he found the linen and the bloody tankard in the close-stool. We went down together, and he called to the watch, and asked him where the woman was? the watchman said, he had let her go. " You dog," says Mr. Kerrel, " go and find her again, or I'll send you to Newgate." The watchman soon met with her, and brought her
to

to us. "You bloody murdering bitch," says I, "was it not enough to rob the people, and be damned to you, but you must murder them too? I'll see you hanged, you bitch! you bloody bitch you." So I shewed her the tankard, and she began to wipe the handle with her apron; but says I, "No, you bloody bitch, you shan't wipe it off;" she said, it was her own, and that her mother gave it her, and that she had fetched it out of pawn, where it had lain for thirty shillings. "You bloody bitch you," says I, "your mother was never worth such a tankard." I had much ado to keep my hands off the bitch.

Court. How came you to know that the prisoner was acquainted with Mrs. Duncomb?

Gehagan. She told me so herself.

Court. Did you see the linen that was taken out of the close-stool?

Gehagan. Mr. Kerrel gave me that linen and the tankard, and I carried them down. I saw this bloody apron and bloody smock taken out of the gown. The bundle was in the closet when Mr. Kerrel misfed his waistcoats, but it was not opened then; the watchman fetched it away afterwards.

Prisoner. Was the blood on the tankard dry?

Gehagan. It appeared then to be fresh.

Prisoner. Was the blood on the shift or apron wet or dry?

Gehagan. I don't know certainly.

Prisoner. Who took the shift up?

Gehagan. I had it in my hand; the blood on it was like that on the tankard, which I thought was wet.

Prisoner. It has been folded up ever since 'till now, and if it was wet then it must be damp still, if no air has come to it.—Was the linen in the close-stool bloody, and what linen was it?

Gehagan. I don't know what linen it was, nor whether it was bloody or no.

Prisoner. Was the linen in the gown delivered to me before I went to the watch-house ?

Gehagan. No ; on her saying it was indecent, it was left, but the watchman came afterwards, and said the constable thought it necessary to have the smock and apron.

Prisoner. What gown had I on ?

Gehagan. I don't know.

Prisoner. I would ask Mr. Kerrel the same question.

Kerrel. You came up in that blue riding-hood you have on now, but I did not mind what gown.

Prisoner. Had I any blood on my cloaths, or was I clean dressed ?

Court. Why, it was Monday morning when you was taken ; you had twenty-four hours to shift your cloaths.

Prisoner. Had I shifted myself with clean linen ?

Kerrel. I don't know, I did not observe.

John Mastreter. I was on my watch in the Temple that night the murder was done ; and nothing passed but gentlemen going to their chambers. Next night, or Monday morning at one o'clock, Mr. Kerrel called, Watch ! I went up to him, and he bid me call another watch, and so I brought Richard Hughes to him ; then Mr. Kerrel said, " come up watchmen ;" so we went up, and he searched his drawers, and what linen was not his own he threw out. Then he went to search for his cloaths in a portmanteau trunk in the closet, where he missed his waistcoats, and asked the prisoner what was become of them ? she said she had pawned them. He said, he could freely forgive her for pawning them, but he suspected she was concerned in the murder, because he had heard her talk of Mrs. Lydia Duncomb ; " therefore," says he, " watch, take care of her, and do not let her go." So we carried her down, and as nothing was found upon her, I and my brother watchman agreed to let her

her go, upon her promising to be forth-coming at ten in the morning. It was a very boisterous night, and in five minutes after she was gone, Mr. Kerrel and Mr. Gehagan came down with a bloody tankard and bloody linen. Mr. Kerrel asked me where the woman was? I said, I had let her go. Says he, if you do not bring her again, I will take care of you. So I called to my brother watch, and he found her sitting between two other watchmen at the Temple-gate. We carried her back to Mr. Kerrel. He shewed her the tankard, and asked her whose it was? she said it was hers, that she had had it these five years, and that it was given her by her mother. He asked her, how the handle came to be bloody? she said, she had a prick in her finger, and shewed it me. It looked as if it was done with a rusty nail.

Council. Did it appear to be a fresh hurt?

Mastreter. No; but a prick she had I am certain of it.

Prisoner. Was the blood on the tankard wet or dry?

Mastreter. I can't tell; but I believe it was dry, because it did not bloody me when I took hold of it.

Prisoner. Mr. Gehagan swore it was wet.

Gehagan. She rubbed it, and I thought it was.

Mastreter. I had not the tankard in the chamber, but it was brought down to me.

Prisoner. Was you by when the bloody linen was taken?

Mastreter. No, the other watchman had that. It was clean linen that was given me.

Council. These things were found after one o'clock on Monday morning, which was twenty four hours after the murder, and therefore I do not see of what service it would be to the prisoner, if she could prove that the blood was dry; might it not very well be dry in that time?

Richard

Richard Hughs. As I was upon my watch in the Temple, at past one o'clock in the morning, I heard Mr. Kerrel call Watch! my brother watchman went, and then he called me; we went up stairs, and the prisoner opened the door to us. Mr. Kerrel looked in his drawers, and in the middle drawer there was a pair of ear-rings, which she owned, and took them out, and put them in her bosom. In another room there was some cloaths, and he asked her about his waistcoats, she went to whisper him, and said they were pawned; he was angry, and said, "why did not you ask me for money?" then he bid me and Mastreter take care of her; but as we were not charged with her before a constable, we thought we had no occasion to keep her in custody, and so we discharged her; she went as far as Tanfield Court arch, and then she returned back and said it was late, and she lived as far as Shoreditch, and therefore had rather sit up in the watch-house all night than go home. "No," says I, "you shall not sit up in the watch-house, and therefore go about your business, and be here again at ten o'clock." She said, she would come again at ten, and so went away. But soon after she was gone, Mr. Kerrel came down with a tankard and some clean linen, and very angry he was that we had let her go. I went after her, and found her at the Temple-gate sitting between two watchmen, I told her Mr. Kerrel wanted to speak with her, and (that I might get her along the more easily) I said, that he was not so angry then, as he was before, and so I brought her with me. He shewed her the tankard, and she said it was her mother's, he asked her how it came bloody? she said, she had pricked her finger.

Council. Was it fresh blood upon the tankard?

Hughs. It looked much as it does now: then I carried her to the constable, and went away and

filled my pipe. But presently I recollected that when I was in Mr. Kelly's room, I kicked a bundle in a gown, and asked what it was, and she said her shift and apron were in it, and not fit to be seen. I told the constable of it, and he sent for it; so I went and asked for the bundle, *whereof* the shift and apron were put.

Council. *Whereof? wherein*, you mean; look upon them; is that the apron, and that the shift?

Hughs. I am not sure that these are the same; for I unfolded them in the chamber, they were both bloody as they are now.

Prisoner. Was the blood wet or dry?

Hughs. I am not sure which.

Prisoner. 'Tis hard, if he opened and handled them, and saw they were bloody, and yet cannot say whether they were wet or dry.

Ann Love. I have been acquainted with Mrs. Duncomb thirty years. On Sunday the fourth of February I went in order to dine with her; it was exactly one o'clock when I came to the chamber-door. I knocked, and waited a considerable time; but nobody answered; I went down to see if I could find any body that had seen any belonging to the family, or knew whether the maid was gone out or no. I met with Mrs. Oliphant, and asked her; she said, she had seen none of them. I went up again, but could make nobody hear. Then I concluded that the old maid Elizabeth Harrison was dead, and that the young maid Ann Price was gone to her sister's to acquaint her with it. I went then to Mrs. Rhymer (who was Mrs. Duncomb's executrix) she came with me, and I went up again with her, but we could not yet get the door open; I looked out and saw the prisoner at my Lord Bishop of Bangor's door; I called her up, and said, "Sarah, prisoner, thee go and fetch the Smith to open the door." She said, she would go with all speed, and so she went.

Council.

Council. Why did you call her ?

Love. Because I knew she was acquainted with Mrs. Duncomb. The prisoner returned without the Smith. Mrs. Oliphant came to us. " Oh ! says I, " Mrs. Oliphant, I believe they are all dead, and the " Smith is not come, what shall we do ? " she said, she could get out of her master's chamber into the gutter, and so open Mrs. Duncomb's window ; I desired her to do so by all means. She accordingly got out upon the leads, broke a pane of glass in Mrs. Duncomb's chamber-window, opened the casement, and I, and Mrs. Rhymer, and the prisoner went in. In the passage, the poor young girl Nanny lay murdered upon her bed, and wallowing in her blood, with her throat cut from ear to ear.

In the next room, the old maid Elizabeth Harrison lay dead, and was thought to be strangled, and in the next room to that, Mrs. Lydia Duncomb lay dead, and strangled in her bed ; and her box, where she kept her money, was broke open, and nothing left in it but some papers.

Council. Do you know that tankard ?

Love. No ; if it was hers, I suppose she kept it locked up, for I do not remember that I have seen it in use.

Council. Have you seen the prisoner in Mrs. Duncomb's chambers at any time before these murders ?

Love. Yes : I was there about eight o'clock the night before the fact, and Mrs. Oliphant and the prisoner were then in the room.

Council. Do you know on what account the prisoner came ?

Love. She pretended she came to enquire of the old maid's health.

Council. What time did she go away ?

Love. She and Mr. Oliphant went away a little before eight, and I staid about a quarter of an hour after.

Council. When you went, did any body lock the door after you?

Love. I don't know; it was a spring-lock, and there was a bolt within-side, and I believe it was bolted when Mrs. Oliphant got in at the window; for when she opened the door, I thought I heard the bolt passed back.

Council. Did the prisoner ever lie with Mrs. Duncomb?

Love. She was her chair-woman before last Christmas.

Council. Did the prisoner use to lie there?

Love. I am not sure of that.

Council. Have you seen her there at any other time than what you have mentioned?

Love. Yes; about a month before the murders she came there, under pretence of looking for the key of her master's chambers.

Prisoner. If you saw me there when the murder was discovered, do you know what cloaths I had on?

Love. I did not take notice of your cloaths, but I desired you to make a fire, and so you did.

Council. Did you see any thing lie upon the table?

Love. There was a case knife, with a white handle, but the blade was broke off short. I did not see the blade.

Council. What became of that broken knife?

Love. It was taken away, but I can't tell who took it.

Ann Oliphant. Mrs. Love came to me, and said, she had been knocking at Mrs. Duncomb's door, and could not get in, and she believed Mrs. Betty the old

old maid) was dead, and that Nanny was gone to acquaint her sister with it, and that the old lady could not get up. This was about one o'clock, and at two she told me she had sent Sarah (the prisoner) for a Smith to break open the door, but he was not come, and she knew not how to get in. Says I, "My master Grisly's chambers, you know, are opposite to Mrs. Duncomb's: He went away last Tuesday, Mr. Twyden has left the keys with me to let the chambers: Now, I'll see if I can get out of his chamber-window into the gutter, and so into Mrs. Duncomb's apartment." She desired me to try, and so I did; I got into the gutter; I broke a pane in Mrs. Duncomb's window, and opened the casement. Here is her window, and here is her door; the door was locked and bolted; I opened it, and Mrs. Rymer and Mrs. Love came in; I did not then see the prisoner, but I believe she came soon after. In the first room we found the girl, Ann Price, with her throat cut from ear to ear, her hair loose, and hanging over her eyes, and her hands clenched thus. In the dining-room, we found Elizabeth Harrison lying in a press-bed; she was strangled, and her throat scratched; Mrs. Duncomb lay across her bed in the next room. The prisoner was there then and talked to me, but I was so concerned, that I don't know what she said, and in a few minutes the mob came in.

Council. Was you at Mrs. Duncomb's the night before the murder?

Oliphant. Yes, I went to see her about eight o'clock; she said, she was sorry my master was gone, because it was so lonesome. The prisoner was then sitting by the fire with Mrs. Betty, and Mrs. Betty said, "my mistress talks of dying, and would have me die with her." I got up to go away, and the prisoner said she would go down with me; and so she did, and we parted in Tanfield-court.

Council.

Council. You say, you found the door locked and bolted ; how do you think the persons, who did the murder, could get in and out ?

Oliphant. I do not know. I heard somebody say, they must get down the chimney ; it is a large kitchen chimney ; but I could thrust the lock back, it is a spring lock ; I have often put to the bolt myself, to save Mrs Betty the trouble of coming to shut the door after me. When I say, I shut the bolt, I mean the bolt of the lock.

Council. Is there any way to get out and leave the door bolted ?

Oliphant. I know of none.

Council. Cannot they get out at the stair-case window ?

Oliphant. No, they have lately been barred.

Council. Mr. Grisly's chambers, you say, had been empty ever since Tuesday, could they not get into his chambers, and so into hers ?

Oliphant. I do not know : there is a filly lock to his door, and I believe may be easily picked.

Frances Rhymer. I have known Mrs. Duncomb thirty years ; and within these three or four years she has been very infirm, and her memory much decayed, and therefore she desired me to receive and take care of her money, and she made me her executrix.

Council. Then you have seen her box where her money was kept :

Rhymer. Yes, I have opened it twenty times.

Council. Do you know this tankard ?

Rhymer. Yes, very well, it was hers : she used to put her money in it, and the tankard and money were both kept locked up in her box. I kept the key of this box ; and the Thursday before her death, she asked me if I had got her key ? I said yes, and she said she wanted a little money. I asked her how much ? she said, about a guinea. I opened the box,
and

and took out a bag ; it was a 100l. bag. It lay a top of the other money in the tankard.

Council. Was this the bag ?

Rhymer. It was such a bag as this ; I carried it to her by the fire-side, and gave her a guinea out of it ; and there might be left in the bag, I believe, about twenty guineas. But besides what was in the bag there were several parcels, that she had sealed up in papers, for particular uses. There were six little parcels sealed up with black wax, I believe there were two or three guineas in each. In another parcel she told me there were twenty guineas for her burying, and in another there were eighteen luidores.

Council. Moidores I suppose you mean ?

Rhymer. Yes, I believe they call them moidores ; these, she said, were for me, to defray any extraordinary charges that might happen. Then there was a green purse, with thirty or forty shillings in it for poor people.

Council. Look on that green purse ; do you think it is the same ?

Rhymer. I think it was not so long a purse as this.

Prisoner. Will she take her oath to every farthing of money that was in the box ?

Rhymer. No, I do not pretend to that.

Council. This you say was on Thursday, what did you observe in Mrs. Duncomb's chambers the Sunday following ?

Rhymer. When Mrs. Oliphant let us in, the first thing I took notice of, was the poor young creature in the passage, with her throat cut from ear to ear ; then in the dining-room there lay Mrs. Betty, strangled, and in the other room I found Mrs. Duncomb in the same condition, and her strong black box was broke open, and all the money and the tankard were gone.

Prisoner. You was there when I was called up, what cloaths had I on ?

Rhymer.

Rhymer. I was too much concerned to take notice of your cloaths.

Prisoner. Was the door locked, or bolted before Mrs. Oliphant opened it?

Rhymer. I do not know.

Prisoner. Did you see any way that a person could get out and leave the door bolted?

Council. Somebody did get in and out too, that's plain to a demonstration.

Frances Crowder. I knew Mrs. Duncomb six or seven years. I know this tankard; about five years ago she desired me to sell some plate for her; and then she shewed me this tankard; "but," says she, "I would not sell this, I intend to keep it for a particular reason, only I would have you ask what it is worth." Her plate was marked with a D and a C [C D L, for her husband's name was Charles] she made use of the tankard to put her money in. And afterwards she told me, that she intended the tankard for her niece Keely.

Council. Look on that clean linen. These were the shifts that were found in Mr. Kerrel's drawers.

Crowder. Mrs. Duncomb's shifts had a particular cut, and I verily believe on my oath that they were hers. I have one of hers here; that that is the very same in every respect. They are all darned too in a particular manner; there is not one piece in all her linen, but all is darned. They have no mark, but have all the same cut and darning.

Prisoner. One shift may be cut like another.

Crowder. Mrs. Duncomb has cut shifts for me exactly in the same manner: these shifts have not been washed, I believe, for many years, but they were laid up in the box with the money and tankard.

Prisoner. Mrs. Rhymer took no notice of this linen; it was strange that she could not see it; she that opened the box so often, must know every trifle that was in it.

Court.

Court. She was not asked that question.

Rhymer. I have seen linen at the bottom of the box ; but I did not open it, to look at it ; neither can I swear to it.

Thomas Bigg, surgeon. Mr. Farlow came to me at the Rainbow coffee-house at Temple-bar, to ask me to go with the coroner, and view the bodies. In the first room I found the young maid, Ann Price, lying in bed with her hair loose, and only her shift on. Her chin was fixed down, as if done with a design to hide the cuts in her throat, I lifted her chin up, and found three incisions ; one of them was not mortal, but the middle one divided the windpipe, which was cut three parts through, and either this, or the third, was sufficient for her death. Wounds in the windpipe, indeed, are not always mortal, for they may sometimes be cured ; but, in a case like this, where the great blood-vessels were cut, the unavoidable consequence must be death. She had no head-cloaths on, and her hair was loose, and she seemed to have struggled hard for her life. In leaning over the bed, the mob pressed so hard upon me, that I was in danger of having my legs broke, so that I was not so particular in my observation as I could have been. The next body I viewed was that of Elizabeth Harrison : she was strangled, and it appeared to have been by some narrow string, as an apron string, or a pack-thread. It was pulled so tight that the skin was divided, and the mark very deep. There was likewise the mark of knuckles on the windpipe, and the blood had gushed out at her nose. She had a gown and petticoat on, and a pair of stockings. I knew her when I was an apprentice. She had sore legs, and for that reason might lie in her stockings. Her gown too seemed to be a sort of bed-gown, and I believe, being old and infirm, she lay both in that and her petticoat too. The last body was that of Mrs. Dun-

which was just enough to give a suspicion that it was made by a string being tied round, but the mark was so small that had she not been very antient and weak, so that a little matter, indeed, would have put an end to her life, one would hardly have thought that to have been the cause of her death.

Council. Did you see the strings on her apron?

Bigg. Yes, they were bloody at the ends.

Prisoner. Might they not have been murdered with those strings, and no blood appear in the middle?

Bigg. They might have been strangled, without making the strings bloody at all. But the strings being only bloody at the ends, which when the apron was tied on, would hang before, the blood might come upon them in the same manner as upon the rest of the apron, or it might be, by folding the apron up before it was dry.

Prisoner. If I had this apron on, and did the murder in it, how is it possible that my shift should be bloody both behind and before?

Council. My Lord, we shall now shew, that it was practicable for the door to be bolted within-side by a person who was without.

William Farlow. Betwixt the door and the post there is a vacancy, through which a man may put his finger. I put a packthread over the bolt within-side, and then went without and shut the spring-lock, and then drew the bolt by the packthread, and it shut very easily.

Mr. Peters. There being a difficulty started, how the door could be left bolted within-side, I took Mr. Farlow, porter of the Temple, with me; he put a string about the neck of the bolt, and then I shut him out, and he pulled the bolt too by both ends of the string, and then letting go one end, he pulled the string out.

Roger Johnson. The prisoner was brought to Newgate on Monday Feb. 5. I had some knowledge of her,

her, because she used to come thither to see one Johnson, an Irishman, who was convicted for stealing a Scotsman's pack. She saw a room where the debtors were, and asked if she might not be in that room. I told her it would cost her a guinea, and she did not look like one that could pay so much ; she said, if it was two or three guineas, she could send for a friend that would raise the money. Then she went into the tap-house among the felons, and talked very freely with them. I called for a link and took her up into another room, where there was none but she and I. " Child," says I, " there is reason to suspect that you " are guilty of this murder, and therefore I have or- " ders to search you ;" (though indeed I had no such orders) and with that I began to feel about her hips, and under her petticoats. Then I examined down her bosom, and feeling under her arms she started, and threw back her head. I clapt my hand to her head, and felt something hard in her hair, and pulling off her cap, I found this bag of money. I asked her how she came by it, and she said it was some of Mrs. Duncomb's money ; " but Mr. John- " son," says she, " I'll make you a present of it, if " you will but keep it to yourself, and let nobody " know any thing of the matter, for the other things " against me are nothing but circumstances, and I " shall come off well enough, and therefore I only " desire you to let me have 3 d. or 6 d. a day till the " sessions is over, then I shall be at liberty to shift " for myself." I told the money over, and to the best of my knowledge, there was 20 moidores, 18 guineas, 5 broad pieces, I think one was a 25 s. piece, and the others 23 s. pieces, a half broad piece, 5 crowns, and 2 or 3 shillings : I sealed them up in the bag, and here they are.

Court. How did she say she came by the money ?

Johnson. She said, she took this money and this bag from Mrs. Duncomb, and begged me to keep it

secret. "My dear," said I, "I would not secrete the money for the world." She told me too, that she had hired three men to swear the tankard was her grandmother's, but could not depend upon them; that the name of one was William Denny, another was Smith, and I have forgot the third. After I had taken the money away, she put a piece of mattress in her hair, that it might appear of the same bulk as before. Then I locked her up, and sent to Mr. Alstone, and told him the story; "and," says I, "do you stand in a dark place to be witness of what she says, and I'll go and examine her again."

Prisoner. I tied my handkerchief over my head to hide the money, but Buck happening to see my hair fall down, he told Johnson; upon which Johnson came to me, and said, "I find the coin's planted in your hair, let me keep it for you, and let Buck know nothing of it." So I gave Johnson five broad pieces, and twenty two guineas, not Gratis, but only to keep for me, for I expected it to be returned when sessions was over. As to the money, I never said I took it from Mrs. Duncomb, but he asked what they had to say against me, I told him only a tankard; he asked me if that was Mrs. Duncomb's, and I said yes.

Court. Johnson, were those her words, "this is the money and bag that I took?"

Johnson. Yes; and she desired me to make away with the bag.

Mr. Alstone. On the day she was committed Mr. Johnson sent for me, and said he had found a bag of money in her hair, and would have had me take it, but I refused. I asked him where the bag was; he said he had left it with her. I told him he should have taken that too, because there might be some mark upon it. He said he would call her, and get it from her, and desired me to stand out of sight, and hear what she said. I accordingly stood in a dark

dark place, and she came up and delivered the bag to him, and desired him to burn it, or destroy it some way or other. She said she only wanted witnesses to swear to the tankard, and for all the rest she could do well enough. She afterwards told me, part of the money that was found on her was Mrs. Duncomb's, and taken out of her chamber; that two men and a woman were concerned with her, and that she herself was the contriver, and laid the scheme of the robbery, that she let them in, and sat upon the stairs to watch while they committed the fact, but that she knew nothing of the murder; that one Will Gibbs had been with her from the two Alexanders (the men who she said were concerned with her) and that she had sent them ten guineas.

Council. My lord, we have her information upon oath before Sir Richard Brocas.

Court. If it is upon oath it cannot be read, for persons are not to swear against themselves; all examinations ought to be taken freely and voluntarily, and not upon oath, and then we can read them. Indeed, if afterwards the examinant will accuse others, his examination may be separately taken upon oath, but then it is not to be brought in evidence against him.

Prisoner. Johnson swears he found twenty mouldores on me, and Mrs. Rhymer swore there were but eighteen lost.

Court. She was not positive, but said there might be about so many.

The prisoner, in her defence, spoke as follows: modesty might compel a woman to conceal her own secrets, if necessity did not oblige her to the contrary; and 'tis necessity which obliges me to say, that what has been taken for the blood of the murdered person, is nothing but the free gift of nature.

This was all that appeared on my shift, and it was the same on my apron, for I wore the apron under
me

me next to my shift. My master, going out of town, desired me to lie in his chamber, and that was the occasion of my foul linen being found there. The woman, that washed the sheets I then lay in, can testify that the same was upon them; and Mr. Johnson, who searched me in Newgate, has sworn that he found my linen in the like condition. That this was the case, is plain; for how was it possible it could be the blood of the murdered person? if it is supposed I killed her with my cloaths on, my apron indeed might be bloody, but how should the blood come upon my shift? if I did it in my shift, how should my apron be bloody, or the back part of my shift? and whether I did it dressed or undressed, why was not the neck and sleeves of my shift bloody, as well as the lower parts?

I freely own, that my crimes deserve death; I own that I was accessory to the robbery, but I was innocent of the murder, and will give an account of the whole affair.

I lived with Mrs. Lydia Duncomb about three months before she was murdered; the robbery was contrived by Mary Tracey, who is now in confinement, and myself, my own vicious inclinations agreeing with hers. We likewise proposed to rob Mr. Oakes, in Thames-street; she came to me at my master's, Mr. Kerrel's chambers, on the Sunday before the murder was committed; he not being then at home, we talked about robbing Mrs. Duncomb; I told her I could not pretend to do it by myself, for I should be found out. "No," says she, "there are the two Alexanders (Thomas and James) will help us." Next day I had seventeen pounds sent me out of the country, which I left in Mr. Kerrel's drawers. I met them all in Cheapside the Friday following, and we agreed on the next night, and so parted.

Next day, being Saturday, I went between seven and eight in the evening to see Mrs. Duncomb's maid,
Elizabeth

Elizabeth Harrison, who was very bad. I staid a little while with her, and went down, and Mary Tracey, and the two Alexanders, came to me about ten o'clock, according to appointment. She would have gone about the robbery just then, but I said it was too soon. Between ten and eleven she said, "we can do it now." I told her I would go and see, and so I went up stairs, and they followed me. I met the young maid on the stairs with a blue mug, she was going for some milk to make a sack posset. She asked me who those were that came after me? I told her, they were people going to Mr. Knight's below. As soon as she was gone, I said to Mary Tracey, "now do you and Tom Alexander go down, I know the door is left a-jar, because the old maid is ill, and can't get up to let the young maid in when she comes back." Upon that, James Alexander, by my order, went in and hid himself under the bed; and, as I was going down myself, I met the young maid coming up again. She asked me, if I had spoke to Mrs. Betty? I told her no; though I should have told her otherwise, but only that I was afraid she might say something to Mrs. Betty about me, and Mrs. Betty might tell her I had not been there, and so they might have a suspicion of me. I passed her and went down, and spoke with Tracey and Alexander, and then went to my master's chambers, and stirred up the fire. I staid about a quarter of an hour, and when I came back, I saw Tracey and Tom Alexander sitting on Mrs. Duncomb's stairs, and I sat down with them. At twelve o'clock we heard some people walking, and by and by Mr. Knight came, went to his room, and shut the door. It was a very stormy night; there was hardly any body stirring abroad, and the watchmen kept up close, except just when they cried the hour. At two o'clock another gentleman came and called the watch to light his candle, upon which I went further up stairs,

stairs, and soon after this I heard Mrs. Duncomb's door open; James Alexander came out, and said "now is the time." Then Mary Tracey and Thomas Alexander went in, but I staid upon the stairs to watch. I had told them where Mrs. Duncomb's box stood. They came out between four and five, and one of them called to me softly, and said, "Hip! how shall I shut the door?" says I, "'tis a spring lock; pull it too, and it will be fast;" and so one of them did. They would have shared the money and goods upon the stairs, but I told them we had better go down; so we went under the arch by Fig-tree Court, where there was a lamp; I asked them how much they had got? they said, they had found fifty guineas and some silver in the maid's purse; about 100l. in the chest of drawers, besides the silver tankard, and the money in the box, and several other things; so that in all they had got to the value of about 300l. in money and goods. They told me they had been forced to gag the people; they gave me the tankard, with what was in it, and some linen, for my share, and they had a silver spoon and a ring, and the rest of the money among themselves. They advised me to be cunning, and plant the money and goods underground, and not be seen to be flush; then we appointed to meet at Greenwich, but we did not go.

I was taken in the manner the witnesses have sworn, and carried to the watch-house, from whence I was sent to the Compter, and so to Newgate. I own that I said the tankard was mine, and that it was left me by my mother: several witnesses have swore what account I gave of the tankard being bloody; I had hurt my finger, and that was the occasion of it. I am sure of death, and therefore have no occasion to speak any thing but the truth. When I was in the Compter, I happened to see a young man, whom I knew, with a fetter on: I told him I was sorry to see him there,

there, and I gave him a shilling, and called for half a quartern of rum to make him drink. I afterwards went into my room, and heard a voice call me, and perceived something poking behind the curtain; I was a little surprized, and looking to see what it was, I found a hole in the wall, through which the young man I had given the shilling to spoke to me, and asked me if I had sent for my friends; I told him, no. He said, he would do what he could for me, and so went away; and some time after he called to me again, and said, "here's a friend." I looked through, and saw Will. Gibbs come in; says he "Who is there to swear against you?" I told him my two masters would be the chief witnesses; "and what can they charge you with?" says he; I told him the tankard was the only thing, for there was nothing else that I thought could hurt me. "Never fear then," says he, "we'll do well enough; we will get them that will Rap the tankard was your grandmother's, and that you was in Shoreditch the night the fact was committed; and we'll have two men that shall shoot your two masters." But, says he, one of the witnesses is a woman, and she won't swear under four guineas; but the men will swear for two guineas a-piece, and he brought a woman and three men; I gave them ten guineas, and they promised to wait for me at the Bull-head in Bread-street; but when I called for them, when I was going before Sir Richard Brocas they were not there.—Then I found I should be sent to Newgate, and I was full of anxious thoughts; but a young man told me, I had better go to the Whit (Newgate) than to the Compter.

When I came to Newgate, I had but 18d. in silver, besides the money in my hair, and I gave eighteen-pence for my garnish; I was ordered to a high place in the goal. Buck, as I said before, having seen my hair loose, told Johnson of it, and John-

son asked me, if I had got any cole planted there? he searched and found the bag, and there was in it thirty-six moidores, eighteen guineas, five crown-pieces, two half-crowns, two broad pieces of twenty-five shillings, four of twenty-three shillings, and one half broad piece. He told me I must be cunning, and not be seen to be flush of money; I desired him to keep it for me till I got clear, and only let me have a little now and then as I wanted it; then, says he, "do you know any body that will swear for you?" "No," says I, "can you help me to any?" "I would not do such a thing for the world," says he, "if I thought you guilty:" so he took the money and we parted; but in a little time he came down again, and said, "What have you done with the bag?" "I have it," says I, "but what would you advise me to do with it?" "Why," says he, "you might have thrown it down the necessary-house, or have burnt it, but give it me, and I'll take care of it;" and so I gave it him. Mr. Alstone then brought me to the condemned hold, and examined me; I denied all, till I found he heard of the money, and then I knew my life was gone; and therefore I confessed all that I knew; I gave him the same account of the robbers as I have given now. I told him I heard my masters were to be shot, and I desired him to send them word. I described Tracey and the two Alexanders, and when they were first taken, they denied that they knew Mr. Oaks, whom they and I had agreed to rob.

All that I have now declared is fact, and I have no occasion to murder three persons on a false accusation; for I know I am a condemned woman, I know I must suffer an ignominious death, which my crimes deserve, and I shall suffer willingly. I thank God that he has given me time to repent, when I might have been snatched off in the midst of my crimes, and
without

without having an opportunity of preparing myself for another world.

My lord, as there was more money found upon me than belonged to Mrs. Duncomb, I hope your lordship will be so good as to order what was my own to be returned me.

Court. The court cannot determine whose property the money is, till the jury have brought in their verdict.

The jury then withdrew, and in about a quarter of an hour, brought in their verdict, guilty, Death.

The Oordinary, in his account of this malefactor, informs us, that she was twenty-two years of age, descended of honest creditable parents in the county of Durham.

Her father, she said, had a pretty estate, about 100 l. a year, which he soon ran out, and then with the reversion of it, his wife, her mother, being an Irish woman, went to Dublin, and there they purchased a public place of the city, lived in good credit, and gave her good education at school, in reading, writing, and such other things, as are proper for a girl above the meanest rank of the people. She lived with her father and mother, who made much of her, because of her sprightly temper, a considerable time; till some years ago, her parents coming to London about certain affairs, she came with them; and some time after that, approaching nigh to woman's estate, she went to service, and was in several good families, where she gave satisfaction, and was never blamed for her dishonesty. Her father returning to Dublin, her mother died soon after; about which time, she got to be one of the laundresses in the Temple. Before this she was a servant at the Black-horse alehouse, where she renewed her former acquaintance with Mary Tracey, and became acquainted with the two Alexanders.

As to the murders, burglary, and robbery, for which she was indicted and found guilty, she gave much the same account as she did in court in her defence, and therefore we shall not tire the reader's patience with the repetition.

As to her behaviour, after her commitment, she no sooner entered Newgate, but she cried out, "I am a dead woman." She was conveyed to the Old Condemned Hold, as the most proper place for securing her, and a person was appointed to watch her, from an apprehension that she intended to take away her own life. These fears were occasioned from her appearing to be extremely ill and out of order, her sick fits were succeeded by vomitings of clotted blood, and her persisting, during these ails, to refuse taking any thing to comfort her, or support nature. Mr. Snowd, a surgeon, after examining into her case, declared it as his opinion, that her illness might be occasioned by a preternatural hurry of spirits, and was not dangerous. However, she would sometimes fall into strange agonies, rolling her eyes, clinching her hands, &c. particularly once, when her former master came to see her, she fell into an extraordinary disorder, grasping the keeper's legs, so as scarce to be got off; when she came to herself, all the reason she assigned was, that she could not endure to see any of her acquaintance.

When she was informed, that Mary Tracey and the two Alexanders were seized, she appeared pleased, and smiled, saying, with seeming satisfaction, "I shall die now with pleasure, since the murderers are taken." When the boys and the woman were shewn to her, that she might see whether they were the persons whom she accused, she immediately said, ay, these are the persons who committed the murder. And said to Tracey, you know this to be true, which she pronounced with a boldness that surprised all who were present. Then addressing her again, said,

said, " See, Mary, what you have brought me to ;
 " and it is through you and the two Alexanders, that
 " I am brought to this shame, and must die for it ;
 " you all promised me you would do no murder, but
 " to my great surprize, I found the contrary.

Some gentlemen, who came to see her in the Press-yard, importuning her to make a frank discovery of the murder, she answered with some heat, " after I
 " have been some time laid in my grave, it will be
 " found out." Some people of fashion asking her if she was settled in her mind, and resolved to make no further confession ; she said, that as she was not concerned in the murder, she hoped God would accept her life as a satisfaction for her manifold sins.

On Sunday about six o'clock in the afternoon, as some people were with her in her room, she fell into a grievous agony, which lasted for some time with all imaginable signs of terror and fright ; one of the keepers coming in said, " Sarah, what's the matter ?
 " what has happened to put you in this disorder ?" she pretended it was occasioned by her being told at chapel that she was to be hanged in Fleet-street among all her acquaintance, which, she said, gave her inexpressible pain. The keeper replied, I am afraid, Sarah, that is not the truth ; when the dead warrant came down, I acquainted you, that you were to die there, so it is not probable that should surprize you so much now. Take my advice, make a full confession, and you will find your mind much easier ; to this she said not a word.

When the bellman came into Newgate to give notice to the prisoners who were to die on Monday, somebody called to Sarah Malcolm, and bid her mind what he said ; she looking out of the window, answered, she did ; and as soon as he had done, said, do ye hear, Mr. Bellman, call for a pint of wine, and I'll throw you a shilling to pay for it, which she did accordingly.

Sunday

Sunday night, about ten o'clock, she called to Chambers, one of the prisoners who were to die the next day, and who was in a cell over-against her window, and bid him be of good comfort, and asked him if she should pray along with him; he answered, "do," Sarah, "with all our hearts;" upon which she began to pray very fervently, and continued to do so for the best part of the night, till all her candles were burnt out; then she exhorted them not to go to sleep, but to pray to God to forgive them their past offences: your time, said she, is short, as well as mine, and I wish I were to go with you. As to the ignominy of your fate, let not that trouble you, none but the vulgar will reflect on you or your relations; good fathers may have unhappy children; and pious children may have unworthy parents, neither are answerable for the other. As to the suddenness of your death, consider, we have had time to call for mercy. Having finished her speech to these her unhappy companions, she shut the window, and laid herself down on her bed.

The following Letter was sent to her some days before her Execution.

Dear Sister in God,

" I Shall not say much as to your present unhappy
 " circumstances, because I am not certain they
 " are so, and yet I cannot help saying, I am concern-
 " ed to hear so many vile hereticks reproach you for
 " being guilty of a crime, far less than they themselves
 " live in the constant practice of. I do assure you
 " that the prayers of the faithful are not wanting for
 " the delivery of you out of your trouble, but as it
 " hath pleased God to call you out of the world in
 " the manner you are now acquainted with, I hope
 " you will submit to it as becomes a true catholic
 " christian; and as it is ordered you must die, the
 " manner

“ manner of it is not worth your concern, whether
 “ you are seen by ten or ten thousand people, nor
 “ can it make any alteration in your case, whether
 “ they all cry for you or against you ; since it is no
 “ more in their power to save you from the power of
 “ the law, than it is to aggravate the punishment of
 “ it. And as to the place where you suffer, though
 “ it may please your enemies, it cannot in the least
 “ add to your afflictions, when you consider who it
 “ is that has the direction of all events, and that his
 “ designs are not to be frustrated by any, and that
 “ he may with the same justice demand your life, by
 “ the hand of ordinary justice, as he did others by
 “ the means so much complained of, and said by some
 “ to be so great an evil that deserves eternal damna-
 “ tion : but were the question seriously asked them,
 “ why the taking away life is an evil, and the pre-
 “ serving it a good, I am apt to think I should
 “ meet with no better answer, than that they did think
 “ so ; not considering, that God directs all events, and
 “ that he doth not see as men see, nor judge as men
 “ judge, but can bring about the greatest good, by
 “ means of the greatest evils ; nor in the present case,
 “ without some evidence of the truth of this, as the
 “ Old Bailey could and Newgate now can testify ;
 “ but to say no more on this head, I shall conclude
 “ with a few words of advice to you, and so trust,
 “ that God who is able will abundantly recompence
 “ all your suffering if you continue stedfast in the true
 “ faith. And first of all, let not any concern about
 “ the things of this life meet with any place in your
 “ heart, nor doubt in the least of your welfare in
 “ the next ; but firmly trust, that he who has
 “ made you an instrument of bringing about his pur-
 “ pose, will as certainly reward you, if you trust in
 “ him ; notwithstanding so many unthinking wretches
 “ are for sending you to hell for being the instrument
 “ of sending a few poor souls to Heaven a little be-
 “ fore

“ fore their time, and that too for what they knew
 “ was not in your power to help. But what is most
 “ to be lamented in your present sufferings is, that you
 “ are daily persecuted by that ignorant Heretick and
 “ *most ordinary of all ordinaries*, whose godliness is gain
 “ and filthy lucre, who, under pretence of giving
 “ saving knowledge, is endeavouring to extort false
 “ confession, &c. and since you have already declared
 “ what you say is the truth in relation to the fact
 “ charged upon you, I hope none will prevail on you
 “ to say otherwise; so recommend myself your faith-
 “ ful friend always in prayer for you till death,

Morgan Maccay.”

Kenfington,
 March 2d, 1733.

A Letter written by Sarah Malcolm.

Sir,

YOU cannot but know that sadness is the rack of
 an affliction not to be expressed, a judgment
 more prejudicial than the worst revenge from an
 enemy's hand; it is like a venemous worm, which
 not only consumes the body, but eats into the very
 soul; it is a moth that feeds on the very marrow and
 vitals, and a perpetual executioner, torturing the soul,
 and exhausting her spirits. So, Sir, if conscience
 has touched you, it must certainly leave sadness on
 your spirits; and as it behoves every one at their
 last hour to die in peace with God and all the world, I
 freely forgive you and all the world.

Sarah Malcolm.

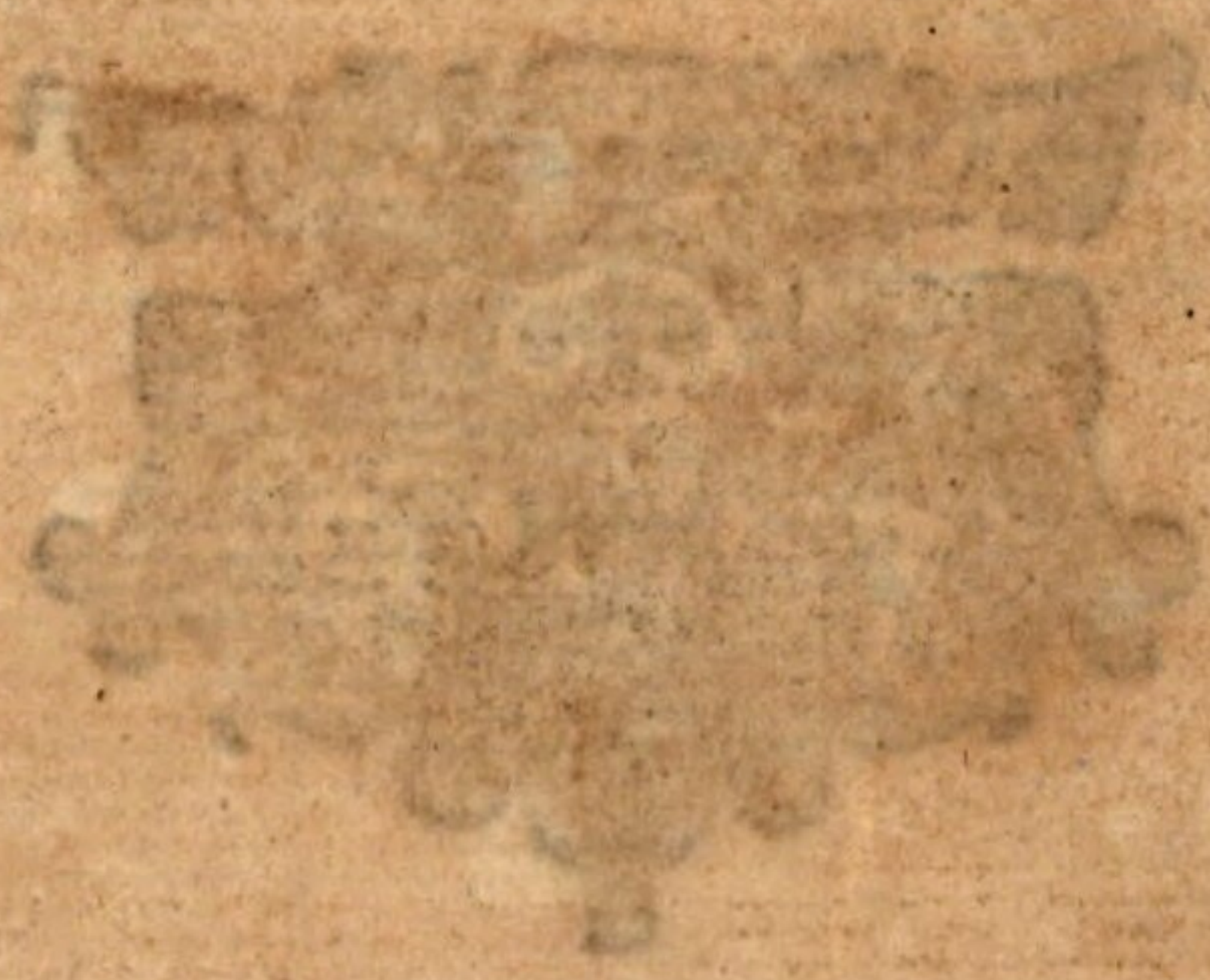
Feb. 26, 1733.

At the place of execution, she appeared pretty
 serene and calm, reading in a book; I prayed with
 her, and she appeared very serious and devout; and
 she

could not compare to the old and beautiful
the same. It is now a building the picture, and
consequently has lost its character. It is the house
of the old, the old house, and it is a good thing
to see the picture. It is the picture of the old
house, the picture of the old house, and it is a
good thing to see the picture. It is the picture
of the old house, the picture of the old house,
and it is a good thing to see the picture.

It was written in the old house, near the
the old house, near the old house.

VOL. II.



could not compose herself, but cried most bitterly all the time. As I was concluding the prayers, and recommending her soul to Almighty God, at the point of death, she fainted away, and it was a good while before she recovered. Just before the cart drew away, she looked towards the Temple, and cried, "Oh! my master, my master! I wish I could see him!" and then looking up to Heaven often cried, "Lord have mercy on me, Lord receive my spirit;" and then the cart withdrew.

She was executed in Fleet-street, near Fetter-lane, on the 7th of March, 1733.

End of VOL. II.



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